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| 997   | Robert.....                                     | .....                                 |
| 1031  | Henry I.....                                    | Canute                                |
| 1060  | Philip I.....                                   | Edward the Confessor                  |
| 1108  | Louis VI.....                                   | Henry I.                              |
| 1137  | Louis VII.....                                  | Stephen                               |
| 1180  | Philip II.....                                  | Henry II.                             |
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| 1226  | St. Louis IX.....                               | .....                                 |
| 1270  | Philip III.....                                 | .....                                 |
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# HISTORY OF FRANCE.

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FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF CLOVIS,  
A. D. 511.

Position of France among the other Nations—The Greeks—The Romans—The Gauls—Cæsar—Roman Remains—The Language—Christianity—The Northern Barbarians—The Huns—The Franks—Clovis.

1. No person can look at the map of Europe without being struck by the important geographical position occupied by France. On one side it approaches the countries where the civilisation of the ancient world was concentrated, and on the other borders on those nations which have risen into greatness in modern times. Hence it has naturally filled a lofty station in the history of Europe, and while it has always been closely associated with the mightiest monarchies in the world, it has on more than one occasion held the chief power among the European states. It is separated by the Alps from Italy, where in the earlier periods of its annals the Roman power was supreme, and a narrow strait only lies between it and Great Britain, the most powerful empire of the present day. Spain, which was in the sixteenth century almost what Britain is now, is its neighbour on another side, being separated from it by the Pyrenees. On the east, where its boundary is not so distinctly marked, because it is neither a great range of mountains nor the sea, the states of Prussia and of Germany march with it for some distance, and as we approach

▲

the German Ocean, its neighbours are the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland—not large, but important from the wealth, industry, and sagacity of their people.

A considerable part of France is washed by the Mediterranean Sea, where the Egyptians, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, and the Romans in their turn pursued commerce or established colonies. In ancient times, there would be a marked difference between this part of the country and the other coast 600 miles distant, which approached the barbarous island of Britain or the equally barbarous swamps of Holland. Here the city of Marseille, of old called Massilia, was founded by the Greeks of Phocæa in Asia Minor, five or six hundred years before Christ. The colonists spread the comforts of civilisation around them, teaching the people to cultivate the vine and the olive. Massilia soon became the capital of an extensive territory, and thus exercised a sway over many smaller towns along the coast. In fact, it established a connexion between the Greeks and the inhabitants of France in that age, very like what Algeria on the coast of Africa forms between the French and Arabs in the present.

2. THE ROMANS.—The Greeks, however, did not penetrate far into the country, and it was little known to any civilized people until the conquests of the Romans. The inhabitants early obtained the name of Gauls, a people who became terrible both to the Greeks and Romans. Three hundred and ninety years before Christ, they invaded Italy with a great army, and entered the city of Rome, which they sacked and burned, and they were only prevented from taking its chief fortification, the Capitol, by the cackling of the geese sacred to Juno, which wakened the garrison as the besiegers were climbing the rock. They were in the end defeated and driven from Southern Italy, but frequently returned in formidable numbers. In the meantime they had settled in Upper Italy, and given their name to the whole district north of modern Tuscany. This portion of them on the southern side of the Alps was subjugated by Rome, and made part of the Roman state, about 170 years before Christ.

The Alps were a great check to the further conquests of the Romans. Unless where these mountains approach



the sea, they form an uninterrupted chain of lofty barriers, which can only be crossed by steep passes in the high narrow valleys, ascending many thousands of feet, sometimes winding along the edges of frightful precipices, and liable even in summer to be blocked up by snow-storms. With all the assistance of modern civilisation, these roads cannot yet be trodden without danger; and it is of importance to keep this in view, as it has always been a conspicuous feature in the history of France and her wars from the time of the Romans down to the days of Napoleon. Thus the Romans had been for half a century masters of all the country to the south of the Alps before they attacked the Gauls on the other side. About 120 years, however, before the birth of Christ, they began to conquer and colonize the territory of France, and the part of the country which they so occupied being called *Provincia* or the Province, has borne the name of Provence to this day. It is on the coast of the Mediterranean nearest to Italy, and is bounded by the Durance and the Rhone.

3. CÆSAR.—The annexation of Gaul to Italy, however, was the work of the great conqueror Julius Cæsar, who had first entered the country for the purpose of protecting the Roman province from the Helvetii or inhabitants of Switzerland. It would appear that this people, harassed by the continual incursions of the Suevi, a tribe of German origin, had resolved to leave their homes and seek repose in some more propitious spot. Three years had been devoted to preparing for this great emigration, and the third year fell in the first of Cæsar's Gallic proconsular government. As soon as he heard of their march, he crossed the Alps to Geneva, broke down the bridge over the Rhone at that city, and compelled the Helvetians to change their course and enter Gaul by the more northern passes of the Jura. At the banks of the Saone they were overtaken by the indefatigable conqueror, and utterly defeated, those who survived the struggle being compelled to return to their native mountains.

But a more formidable enemy still remained. Ariovistus, king of the Suevi, was devastating some of the most fertile portions of Gaul with fire and sword; and his forces were continually recruited by the warlike and restless youth of

Germany. The Gauls in their distress solicited the aid of Cæsar, who the more readily acceded to their prayer, as this armed intervention in the wars of their neighbours was in strict accordance with the policy of Rome. Ariovistus was defeated and driven across the Rhine, leaving behind him an enemy far more dangerous to the liberties of the people he was ostensibly protecting. Cæsar had fought  
 B. C. }  
 58. } German invasion.

Within a few years after this period, the celebrated conqueror had overrun the greater part of France, and had even crossed the Rhine, to attack the German tribes, whom he found troublesome in assisting the Gauls or inciting them to revolt. The Carnutes, whose territory was near the place where Paris now stands, commenced a great revolt against his power, which spread throughout the  
 B. C. }  
 52. } country. This outbreak was caused mainly by the excessive cruelty with which he had treated a Gallic tribe that had fallen suddenly upon a Roman legion and cut it to pieces. While he was occupied in Italy with civil cares, the explosion took place: the Carnutes surprised Orleans, and the news of their exploit reached the mountaineers of Auvergne the same evening,—a distance of nearly 150 miles. The youthful *vercingetorix* or commander-in-chief, whose name history has not transmitted to us, led his patriotic followers from victory to victory; but the impetuous Cæsar, hastily quitting the banks of the Tiber, and crossing the Cevennes, where the snow lay six feet deep, suddenly stopped the tide of success, and Gaul was once more enslaved.

B. C. }  
 50. } Thus France became part of the great territory of Rome, and for five centuries it rose with the prosperity of the empire or sank with its decline. Of the race who chiefly inhabited the country when the Romans took possession of it we have no very distinct accounts. They were named Gauls or Celts, and some of them who invaded and occupied the country at a comparatively late time were called Cimmerians (Cimbrians, *Cymri*). The description given of them is, that they were men of large broad frame, with fair complexions and light hair; strong, fierce, and reckless; who conducted their wars without guile

or caution, and performed their most daring exploits rather in a spirit of rough sport than of serious enmity. The description of their appearance corresponds better with that of the Germans and of the English than with the French of the present day. But it would seem that the Celts properly so called, a large portion of whom were settled in Gaul, and who in reality occupied the central and western parts of France, were a dark slender agile race of eastern origin. A mixed people sprang from the union of these two families, and the Romans and Franks, who afterwards spread themselves over the country, became fresh elements in the composition of this new nation. It would even appear, as we shall presently see, that more eastern blood was diffused through them by the incursions of the Saracens.

4. ROMAN REMAINS.—The Romans left behind them in France conspicuous monuments of their power and splendour. They had a city called Lutetia, where Paris now stands, and in the Rue de la Harpe, in the oldest and most squalid part of the city, may still be seen the remains of the palace of the Emperor Julian, where he was residing at the time when he was raised to the throne. It consists of a vault so strongly built that a garden with deep mould had for centuries stood above it, and it is supposed that a large portion of the ruins of the old Roman city has thus been covered. Many subterranean passages now choked up branch off from it, and they have been frequently opened by labourers conducting excavations in the neighbourhood.

As might naturally be expected, however, the grandest monuments of the Romans are in the south of France. At Nismes are the remains of an amphitheatre, in better preservation than the Coliseum at Rome, and built to accommodate about 20,000 spectators. It has been cleared out of late years, and travellers may see the strong stone vaults of the passages, narrow within but widening towards the outside to give the people free egress, while they can observe the holes in which masts were placed for an awning to cover in the open space. At Arles is another amphitheatre, of larger proportions but more ruinous, and in the same town there are the fragments of a theatre, in

which many beautiful specimens of marble sculpture have been found.

**ROMAN LANGUAGE.**—But the Romans left behind them other remains much more lasting than their edifices. It will be remembered that in our own country, where they had only a partial and insecure footing, all their influence on the manners of the people was liable to be swept away by the invasion of the Saxons and other northern tribes; and consequently any thing Roman in our language and customs has rather been acquired by the study of Latin literature and antiquities than handed down to us in direct succession from those who occupied the island. In France, however, it was quite otherwise. The language of the nation at large had been completely Romanised. The Celtic or whatever dialects they may have spoken before the invasion of Cæsar, appear to have been merged in the Latin, on which the invasions of the Franks and other barbarians had so little effect, that it is still the foundation of the French language of our own day. Nay, in the remote provinces there are some vestiges of Latin words in their primitive shape; and the peasant of the Puy de Dome, when he stops his team, still says *sta bos*, which is Latin for *stop ox*.

**5. ROMAN LAW.**—The present law of France has been constructed on the model of the Roman jurisprudence, and there is reason to believe that the system has never been entirely lost, but, continuing from the days of the emperors in more or less observance, became gradually mixed with the feudal law of the dark ages. The municipal institutions of the towns have in many instances come down in the same manner. In this country we consider a town ancient if it can trace its constitution as far back as the twelfth century, but there is no doubt that some of the French corporations date from the time of the earlier emperors. The original barbarian kings of France, after it had become dissevered from Italy, were proud of holding offices in the empire; and among the ancient crown jewels formerly preserved in the abbey of St Denis, there were sceptres with eagles and other insignia, showing them to be of Roman origin.

**CHRISTIANITY.**—Along with these institutions of sublu-

nary importance, the empire communicated to the colony of Gaul the christian religion with its observances. Like all other barbarous nations, the Gauls did not cordially welcome Christianity. About the year 260, St Denis was executed, with several of his brother missionaries, on an eminence near Paris, which, from that circumstance, is still called Mont Martre or the Martyr's Mount. He was afterwards revered as the patron saint of France. After Constantine had declared Christianity the dominant religion of the empire, the christian church in Gaul penetrated rapidly into every class of society. Its ministers were admitted into the municipal bodies, and bishops were invested with a supremacy over the ordinary magistrates. By this and other similar means the new religion was (humanly speaking) secured against the tempest that was shortly to sweep over the country, destroying that mighty fabric which imperial Rome had raised with so much toil and bloodshed.

6. INROADS OF BARBARIANS.—The more intimately that France, or as it was then named Gaul, was incorporated with the Roman empire, the more widely was it separated by civilisation from its immediate neighbours. The Rhine was the great boundary between them, and on the west or left bank were the Gauls, speaking Latin, christian and civilized, while on the east were the various tribes of Germans and other barbarians, talking their original language, and worshipping the gods of paganism, among whom Thor, Odin, and Freya occupied a prominent place. Their climate being pleasant and their land fruitful, the civilized Gauls were becoming effeminate, and the rude savages who gazed on it from the German hills longed to seize upon its riches. But a deep rapid river, like the Rhine, of great width, and flowing between precipitous banks, was not easily crossed in those days. At length, in the year 406, a troop of these barbarians effected a passage, and their inroad was all the more terrible that they had been long restrained. Vandals, Visigoths, Suevians, Burgundians, Alans, came sweeping on in one vast torrent through the devoted land, pillaging, destroying, and slaughtering wherever they went. The Burgundians settled in the eastern part of the country near the Alps, and gave their

name to the district which was long afterwards a separate dukedom ; while the Visigoths established themselves in the western districts south of the Loire, with Toulouse for their capital. Other bands of the invaders taking up their position in different parts of the country, settled down in comparative quiet, and the result was, that they intermarried with the Gauls, becoming partly civilized and partly christianized.

**THE HUNS.**—By thus incorporating these hardy northern warriors with themselves, the Gauls were enabled more effectually to protect their country from another and more terrible enemy. These were the Huns, a powerful eastern tribe from the most distant parts of Asia, who had passed over two-thirds of the extent of the then known world, conquering and destroying. They crossed the Rhine in the year 451, under the command of the terrible Attila, whom the historian Gibbon thus describes : “ His portrait exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck : a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-seated eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a small square body of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The haughty step and demeanour of the King of the Huns expressed the consciousness of his superiority over the rest of mankind ; and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired.” The Huns destroyed the town of Metz and besieged Orleans. The forces of the Gauls and of their northern settlers were commanded by the Roman general Aetius, and in several conflicts they opposed the invaders so successfully, that they were driven back beyond the Rhine.

**7. THE FRANKS.**—Besides the tribes who thus rushed impetuously on France, there were others which gradually immigrated into the country, just as the inhabitants of America spread themselves towards the west and by degrees occupy new territory. A German tribe inhabiting a district nearly corresponding with Rhenish Prussia of the present day, was destined in this manner to give a name to France, as the Angles gave their name to England, and the Irish Scots to Scotland. These were the Franks, who, under Julian, had been settled in Brabant,

where they formed a strong defence to that weakest portion of the Gallic frontier.

The customs of the Franks, for the most part, resembled those of the great German family from which they sprung : they were a fierce and warlike people, with whom a love of independence supplied the place of public morality, and justified robbery and murder. The chase was their sole occupation during the intervals of peace : the culture of the soil and the care of their flocks were left to slaves. They worshipped the stars, the elements, and various idols ; and believed in good and evil deities, to the latter of whom they frequently sacrificed human beings. Their priests, who were mere workers of magic, having no embodied doctrine or form of belief, celebrated their barbarous rites in thick forests or in gloomy caves. Each tribe had its chief, usually the bravest of their warriors, who held his power for life. He was inaugurated by being borne round the camp on a shield supported on men's shoulders ; and his court, if the term be permitted, was composed of the most distinguished soldiers who fought under his banner.

Whether it was by the voluntary consent of the different tribes, or that one of the chiefs of the confederation, having (like our Egbert) succeeded in reducing the whole under his sway, had appointed his brothers or his sons kings over them, we find that at the commencement of the fifth century all the chiefs belonged to one family, from which alone the rulers could be elected. This revolution placed at the head of the confederation that long-haired race of monarchs, known as the Merovingians (*Meer-wings*, sea-warriors). The right of wearing the hair floating around the shoulders was the distinctive attribute of this barbarian sovereignty.

Tradition assigns to Pharamond the title of first king of the Franks, and the honour of having drawn up the salic code. A doubtful passage in an old chronicle would place him in the first quarter of the fifth century. Clodion, the long-haired, suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Aetius, and his son Meroveus assisted the same general against the Huns under Attila.

8. CLOVIS.—The Empire of the West had fallen beneath

the attacks of the barbarians, when Clovis (Chlodowig) succeeded by election to the throne of his father Childeric I., king of the Salian Franks. The authority of Odoacer, the new master of Rome, did not extend beyond the Alps; and Gaul was enfranchised from Italian tyranny, except where Syagrius still held a portion of the country between the Loire and the Somme. A possession so precarious, so weak and isolated, could not fail to become sooner or later the prey of the barbarians who hemmed it in on every side.

Clovis, whom Zeno, emperor of the East, had invested with the title of Master of the Roman Forces, determined to profit by the feebleness of the patrician Syagrius. At the head of the Frank confederation he advanced into the interior and took Soissons, utterly defeating the Italian legionaries. One battle placed all Roman Gaul at the conqueror's feet, and the victors immediately partitioned the new territory among themselves. An anecdote, to which an exaggerated importance has sometimes been attached, may serve to show the manners of the age and the real power of the sovereign in the time of Clovis. The church of Rheims having been plundered, the bishop prayed that a certain consecrated vase might be restored to him. The distribution of the booty took place at Soissons, where Clovis, willing to oblige the bishop and thus conciliate the people, although he was not yet a Christian, begged that the vase might be given to him in addition to his own share of the spoils. All consented with the exception of one soldier, who, striking the cup with his axe, declared that the chief should have no more than fell to him by lot. Clovis dissembled his anger; but about a year after, when reviewing his forces, he approached the soldier, and remarking that his arms were in bad order, cleft his skull with his battle-axe, adding: "'Twas thus you served the vase at Soissons."

To Clovis rather than to Pharamond rightly belongs the title of first king of the French. His wife Clotilda was a Christian, who strove in vain to convert him from paganism. In a battle with the Germans near Cologne, however, he engaged to adopt the God of his wife if he proved victorious. He was victorious, and thereupon was



baptized and admitted into the christian community with three thousand of his warriors. This circumstance naturally changed the position of the clergy in France. They were previously the spiritual advisers of a few of the common people, but now the great king and leader had adopted them, and they were naturally grateful to him for his patronage. It was long the practice in all treaties and other state documents to call the king of France "The most Christian King," and some French historians contend that this title was first borne by Clovis. His profession of Christianity tended to the extension of his dominions, since the converts in all the surrounding states were ready to aid him against their fellow-countrymen. He had at the same time the advantage of being the champion of orthodoxy, for he made war not only on the pagans, but the Arians, who then formed a powerful body. A barbarian leader, whatever authority he may possess, always increases it by obtaining the countenance of old respected authorities, and thus the influence of Clovis was greatly augmented by his receiving from the emperor the title of consul. It has been already mentioned that the Romans had a town called Lutetia, on an island of the river Seine. This place Clovis thought would be a suitable capital for his new dominions, which extended even into Germany.

For the first time since the fall of Rome peace prevailed throughout Gaul. That extensive portion of Europe had in less than thirty years passed almost entirely under the dominion of the German tribes. The imperial garrisons, who had long held their ground in the fortresses near the mouths of the Rhine and of the Meuse, had at last submitted to the conqueror of Soissons; the warlike Armorica paid tribute; Roman Gaul, now become Frank, obeyed without a murmur; the Germans and the Ostrogoths respected the new empire: Burgundian Gaul, allied by religion and blood (for Clotilda was of Burgundian descent) was the vassal of Clovis; and if the power of the Franks was as yet manifested on the south of the Loire solely by forays and *razzias*, at least no one thought of contending with them for the extensive provinces of Novempopulana and Aquitaine.

## EXERCISES.

1. Describe the position of France among the European nations. How has it necessarily had connexion with the greatest powers both of ancient and of modern times? What part of the country would naturally be earliest civilized? What colony was established in it?

2. What were the inhabitants called? Give an account of an incident in their invasion of Rome. What was their subsequent history in Italy? What prevented the Romans from penetrating to France? State how and where they crossed the barrier.

3. Who annexed Gaul to the Roman empire? How did he get an opportunity of conquering it? Who rose against him? State what is generally known about the personal nature and appearance of the people among whom the Romans established their dominion.

4. Give an account of remains of the Romans in Paris. Give an account of others nearer Italy. What other remains did the Romans leave in France? What effect have the Romans had on the French language?

5. What influence had the Roman law in France? What is curious about the French municipal corporations? How was Christianity introduced into France? How did it obtain a footing in the country?

6. What checked the inroads of the barbarians? What races flocked into the country when the barrier was passed? Where did the different tribes settle? Give an account of the invasion of the Huns. Who was their leader, and what was his character?

7. What race gradually immigrated into the country? Who gave a name to France? Describe the customs and government of the Franks. Who is traditionally called the first king of the Franks?

8. Who was Clovis? Give an account of his invasion of Gaul proper. Mention an anecdote from the old chroniclers showing the independence of his followers. How did Clovis embrace Christianity? What title of the French kings is supposed to have been first given to him? What Roman office did he hold?

## CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DEATH OF CLOVIS TO THE DEATH OF  
CHARLEMAGNE, A. D. 511—814.

The Successes of Clovis—Savage Manners—The Merovingian Race—Brunhilda's Crimes—The Sluggard Kings—The Mayors of the Palace—Charles Martel—The Saracens—Germs of the Feudal System—King Pepin—Charlemagne—His Conquests—Restoration of the Empire.

A. D. } 1. THE MEROVINGIANS.—After the death of Clovis, his  
511. } four sons, in conformity with the German custom,

divided among them their father's domains and conquests. Their claims were recognised by all the Frank tribes scattered over the Gallic territory, and thus was made the first step towards hereditary sovereignty. It is difficult to form an exact idea of these four kingdoms; but we may see that they were divided off in long strips from north to south, just as the Normans at the conquest measured out Sussex by the *rope* into six *rapes*, from the northern border of the county down to the sea, each having within its bounds some important station for defence and protection. Hence arose that territorial division, so imperfect in description, of the kingdoms of Metz, Orleans, Paris, and Soissons.

The kingdom of Metz, governed by Thierry or Theodoric, was the most considerable: it comprehended the old home of the Franks beyond the Rhine, as far as the Weser, all the course of the former river from Basle to Cologne; modern Lorraine, Champagne, and Alsace; the district between the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine, Auvergne and part of Aquitaine. The kingdom of Orleans, which fell to Clodomir, comprehended Beauce, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry. The kingdom of Paris, which had been assigned to Childebert, included all Western Gaul, except Brittany, and reached from the Somme to the Adour. And, lastly, the kingdom of Soissons, under Clotaire, was enclosed between Champagne, the Isle of France, Normandy, the Channel, and the Scheldt. Although a small territory, it was one of the most powerful, because its population consisted in a great measure of the ancient companions of Clovis, who, under his guidance, had conquered Roman Gaul.

Other names were subsequently given to these kingdoms: that of Metz was called *Oster-Rüch*, the eastern country, whence the more euphonious Latinized name of *Austrasia*: that portion of Gaul between the Meuse, the Loire, and the ocean, was called *Wester-Rüch*, and by corruption *Newester*, whence *Neustria*: the other great divisions of the country long preserved their names of Aquitaine and Burgundy.

An anecdote preserved by the chroniclers marks the savage manners of the time. The widow of Clovis, residing at Paris, showed a partiality for the three infant sons of

Clodomir, whose uncles, Childebert and Clotaire, fearing lest her interest might secure to them the throne, resolved on their destruction. Pretending the most loyal motives, they begged the queen would confide the royal children to their care; but as soon as they had got possession of their nephews, they sent her a messenger with a sword and a pair of scissors, to ask which of them they should use—the cutting of the sovereign's hair being equivalent to a deposition. She, surprised and irritated by a message so different from what she had expected, answered impatiently, that if they were to be degraded from royalty, she cared not if they were slain. The uncles took her at her word; A. D. } two of them were barbarously murdered, and the  
532. } third, the St Cloud of the Romish calendar, ended his days in a cloister.

The whole history of the Merovingian dynasty is a record of the most horrible atrocities, since each monarch generally rose to power by the wholesale butchery of all who could interfere with him. The annals of these foul deeds are almost incredible; we read of whole families being burned or poisoned, and sometimes subjected to lingering tortures. Two women, one called Brunehilda, the wife of Sigebert of Austrasia, the other Fredegonda, the mistress and afterwards the wife of Chilperic of Soissons, were conspicuous even in that age for their rivalry and crimes. Each of them seems to have kept around her a group of young men who were prepared to commit murder or any other wickedness she might suggest to them. When Sigebert was to be mounted and carried on a shield in token of his being raised to royalty, Fredegonda prevailed on two of her followers to stab the new made king with poisoned knives as the bearers were laying down the A. D. } shield. She promised them a rich recompense if  
575. } they returned, which was to be expended on prayers for their souls if they fell in the attempt. She assassinated Clovis the son of Chilperic by his former marriage, put his mother to death with the severest tortures, and after exposing his sister to the most brutal outrage, banished her to a monastery. The sanctity with which priests and churches were then invested was no restraint on this tigress. Pretextat, bishop of Rouen, having censured some of her

atrocities, was stabbed at the altar while celebrating mass, and all knew that she had directed the blow. It being the practice of the age to enrol those ecclesiastics who died a violent death in the calendar as martyrs, the murdered bishop was revered as a saint.

These Merovingian kings were a curious instance of the bad effects of luxury on uneducated barbarians. Though belonging to the Franks, a manly and heroic people, they became so degenerate from the effect of vicious habits, that they were unfit for the business of government, and did not care to conduct it. Hence the title of Sluggard Kings was bestowed on the successors of Dagobert,—an

A.D. }  
638 } epithet, however, which should be taken with consid-  
erable reserve, several of the succeeding monarchs being men of great virtue and ability. The almost oriental seclusion of these rulers would further appear to have been the result of a political combination among the powerful chiefs around the throne, the traces of which have almost entirely disappeared. The whole power of the government thus fell into the hands of the prime minister, who was called the mayor of the palace. In the end, these mayors became the actual monarchs, though some descendant of Clovis was still the nominal ruler, who lived like a petted child, was never disturbed by affairs of state, and only appeared at particular festivals; while the mayors of the palace, always transacting the real business of the government on their own responsibility, came gradually to be regarded as the actual sovereigns. At length their succession became hereditary like that of the throne. One of

A.D. }  
681-714 } these was Pepin the Fat, who united the several divided states, and for twenty-five years ruled absolutely over France, though his title was only that of mayor of the palace. As his two sons were dead, he desired that a grandson should succeed him; but the hereditary succession to the office had not been sufficiently fixed to allow a child to hold it. That there should be a king able to do nothing, and that the person who professed to be his minister and transact the business of the nation for him should be equally incompetent, was considered too preposterous.

2. GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES MARTEL.—The infant mayor was set aside, but the office was gained by a natural son of Pepin, called Charles Martel, or Charles the Hammer,—a name which shows his Frankish or Gothic origin, and which was given to him on account of the exterminating energy with which he fell upon his enemies. He had many to encounter, and established an extensive warlike reputation. On the one side, he had to resist German tribes of various kinds, including the formidable pirates of the northern seas, who then began to infest the coasts of France; while the southern borders were invaded by a race totally different in appearance, and coming from the other end of the world. These were the Arabs or Saracens, from the African and Asiatic deserts, who, with their dusky skins and black eyes and hair, and their thin but muscular frames enveloped in the picturesque costume of the East, were altogether unlike the northern warriors, large of limb, broad chested, fair, with blue eyes and light hair. The invasion of such a body was far more formidable than we can easily conceive in the present day, and it required such a genius as that of Charles Martel to prevent these new hordes from taking possession of France, as they afterwards did of a great part of Spain. He rescued his country by defeating them in two sanguinary battles at Tours and Narbonne.

A. D. }  
732, 737. }

It is to the government of Charles Martel that many writers trace the origin of the feudal system, which afterwards pervaded Europe, and still nominally exists even in this country; so that in the sale of landed property we yet speak of superiors and vassals. The various chiefs who rose to power after the downfall of the Roman empire, generally obtained their great influence by conquest. When they overran new countries, they would naturally reward their best warriors, by giving them lands for their own use. The supreme chief or king who gave away districts of country in this manner, however, would like still to have some control over his follower, and over the land held by him; and the follower would perhaps naturally concur in any thing which showed his gratitude to the leader who had enriched him. Thus it would arise that each warrior on

receiving his lands would agree to hold them under his chief, admitting his right to recover possession of them in certain cases, and above all other things to take them and dispose of them on the death of the holder. Such was perhaps the simple origin of the system. We shall afterwards see how it was developed, making a connexion of degrees from the king on his throne down to the meanest hind who tilled the ground. To a chief like Charles Martel the arrangement was particularly valuable. He was a great warrior, and thus by gaining battles had often tracts of land at his disposal; but he was not the undisputed king, and therefore it was a sagacious policy in him to reward his followers in such a manner that they would be attached to him and look up to him with gratitude as the author of their fortunes. This method of bestowing rewards or wages in land soon gave rise to a state of society quite different from any that had been known in Greece or Rome, or in eastern nations. It created a permanent aristocracy, whose power was often so great as to leave but little to the king. To learn how such a change arose out of a system of rewarding bold exploits in this manner, it may be proper to bear in mind the following observations. The individuals whom a Roman emperor employed about his establishment or his person, to take charge of his palace, to train his horses, to keep his hunting dogs, or the like, were merely slaves, who had seldom any property, and never rose above their servile position. But the chieftains of France and Germany, in the early periods of modern history, often found territorial gifts the best means of rewarding services. Thus the persons who discharged the same duties as these Roman slaves were sometimes repaid with conquered estates. This raised their position, for no man can well be both a landlord and a slave, and a certain degree of dignity came thus to attach to the performance of even the menial offices about the sovereign. It is curious to see the remains of this peculiarity in the courts of modern Europe. Thus the very highest nobility take such offices as master of the robes, groom of the stole (an article of dress), master of the horse, master of the buck-hounds, &c. We have here perhaps the secret why the mayor of the palace became so import-

ant an officer. His original functions were something like those of a steward of the household ; but as a person so necessary to the king would be sure to receive extensive grants of land, he gradually rose in power and influence till he became greater than the monarch.

**KING PEPIN.**—At length the mayor of the palace became king in name as well as in effect. Pepin the Short, the son of Charles Martel, felt his authority sufficiently strong to shake off his allegiance to the nominal king, and seize the throne. Without the assistance of the church of Rome he probably would not have ventured on such a step, but it was sound policy in the pope to desire to see a powerful christian king in France able to protect the  
 A.D. } church from the barbarians, and accordingly Pepin  
 752. } received the royal unction. He was a wise and firm governor, who increased his dominions rather by affording protection to his neighbours than by conquest, and left behind him so high a character for moderation and prudence that it was usual in praising a man to say that he was as wise as Pepin. Twice did Pepin cross the Alps to protect the see of Rome against the Lombards, and the provinces which he had wrested from Astolphus he bestowed on the pope. These were afterwards called the patrimony of Saint Peter, and from this memorable donation arose the temporal power of the papacy.

**3. CHARLEMAGNE.**—But he is chiefly distinguished as the father of the most illustrious monarch of the dark ages. He left behind him two sons, Charles and Carloman, who were to share the kingdom between them ; but the latter  
 A.D. } dying soon after his father, Charles became sole king.  
 772. } He is now chiefly known, not by his simple name of Charles, but by that of Charlemagne,—a contraction of the Latin Carolus Magnus, or Charles the Great. At the commencement of his reign Aquitaine revolted, but he speedily showed his vigour by reducing it to subjection, and the king of the Lombards was so struck by the commanding talents of the young monarch, that he courted an alliance with him, and gave him his daughter in marriage.

The name of Charlemagne occupies a large space in the history of the world. He was the most powerful monarch of Europe during the whole period of the dark ages, and



to know the events of his reign is to know the most valuable portion of European history between the fall of the Roman empire and the Reformation. He succeeded to territories which extended beyond the borders of France into Germany: he was born in the castle of Saltzburg in Bavaria, and indeed might be considered rather a German than a Frenchman. He had so little education, that it has even been a matter of dispute whether he could sign his name. It is probable that the language of his infancy was a dialect of the German, and that any thing he knew of that which was spoken in other parts of his dominions must have been acquired by him in later life. With such meagre opportunities, it is all the higher praise of Charlemagne to say that he was a zealous encourager of learning and education, and could distinguish with almost unerring sagacity men of real enlightenment, ability, and knowledge, from the vulgar herd of pretenders by whom kings are always surrounded.

The history of this reign may be divided into two parts; the one consisting of wars and conquests; the other, of great improvements in the civilisation and good government of his dominions, in which he proved that "peace hath her victories—not less renowned than war." In the year 772 he began his war with the Saxons, which lasted until the end of the century. They were pagans, and he professed to act as the champion of the gospel; but it may be suspected that he made the cause of religion merely an excuse for carrying out his own ambitious views. He certainly did not afford his enemies any good example of the christian virtues in his own conduct, for he slaughtered them without mercy, and put them to death in thousands, even after they had laid down their arms. There are few more revolting passages in history than the sanguinary exterminations of the Saxons by Charlemagne. They fought under a leader called Witikind, whose name is now scarcely ever heard, and yet for many years he coped with the power of Charlemagne, and it seemed at one time that he would be the conqueror. Had he been so, history would have lost one great name without gaining another, for, though he was skilful, brave, and long-enduring, there is no reason to presume that Witikind

held any enlightened views, or was anything more than a suitable leader of barbarian tribes. It is stated by historians that in the year 783, when the Saxons had revolted and put to flight Charles's lieutenants, they were so terrified by the king's approach that they humbly submitted. But he was implacable, until the rebels had surrendered 4500 of their number, who were beheaded at Verden on the Weser. The perpetration of this cruelty roused the Saxons and the neighbouring German tribes from Westphalia to the North Sea, and several great but unsuccessful battles were fought by Witikind. In the vicinity of Osnabrück, on a sandy desolate plain, where Charlemagne encountered the Saxons, the place said to be occupied by his troops is still called "Kerlsfeld," while the Saxon position is named after their leader "Witsfeld." Charlemagne with all his victories could not entirely subdue the leaders of these German tribes, and in the end he adopted the plan of partially conciliating them. He desired those chiefs, who lived in the distant province of Holstein, (part of the peninsula of Denmark,) to travel southward and meet him near Rheims in Champagne. Here they agreed to become Christians, to be baptized, and to acknowledge Charlemagne as their over-lord. Witikind showed the sincerity of his conversion by founding a monastery. He was appointed duke of Central Saxony, and lived for the remainder of his days dependent on his conqueror. Several German princes claim to be his descendants, and it is believed that the house of Holstein Oldenburg has the best title to be so considered.

In the mean time Charlemagne was engaged in many other wars. He was the favourite champion of the church, and on the application of Pope Adrian I. he crossed the Alps to protect Rome from the king of the Lombards. On this occasion he made himself sovereign of the greater part of Italy, but prudently professed to hold his power by the sanction of the papal court of Rome. A few years afterwards he found a field for conquest on the other side of the Pyrenees, and entering Spain, he wrested from the Saracens all Navarre and part of Aragon to the Ebro. As he returned across the mountains, harassed by his persevering and powerful enemy, his rear-guard was

defeated at the pass of Roncesvalles, which has obtained its name and celebrity from that event. Here perished Roland, the warden of the borders of Brittany, whom high heroic poetry and simple ballads have preserved as a familiar name. A deep gap in the range of the Pyrenees is still known as the Brèche de Roland; and if the neighbouring peasantry are asked how it happened to be so called, they reply that Roland cut it with his sword.

4. THE EMPIRE.—Charlemagne pursued a long career of victory to the year 800, when, being lord of the greater part of Europe, he visited Rome. Here, as the political master of the christian world; he made arrangements with its spiritual master the pope, which showed his policy and sagacity. It was a most valuable thing for the pope to have the aid of the great warrior king—it was an equally valuable thing for the conqueror to be countenanced by the head of Christendom. Accordingly, it was agreed that the old Roman empire should be restored, and that Charlemagne should be the emperor. He was therefore solemnly crowned, and assumed a title which had been dormant A. D. } for three hundred and twenty-four years, as Carolus  
800. } I. Cæsar Augustus. As the Roman empire still professedly existed, with its capital at Constantinople, since the time when Odoacer and his bands had seized on Rome, a division was made partitioning Charlemagne's empire of the west from the empire of the east. The effect of this arrangement on modern European history was very great, for it laid the foundations of that extensive Germanic empire, which, under various modifications, has lasted to the present day.

We may be assured that when we meet in history with the name of a great man who kept a large number of people in subjection, he must have possessed superior mental endowments. Some, however, we find exercising their abilities solely in doing evil by oppression and pillage, while others acted in such a way as to benefit the human race. Charlemagne, though he was often bloodthirsty and tyrannical, was nevertheless wonderfully conscientious, and gave a far larger share of his talents and power to the service of mankind than almost any mighty conqueror has done even in more civilized ages. He had under his authority Gauls,

Romans, Goths, members of the Slavonic tribes, and Saracens. All France bowed before his sceptre ; he was absolute master of Italy, except the district now called Naples, which was retained by a partially dependent monarch, the duke of Benevento. On the side of Spain he fixed the marches of his empire at the Ebro. On the east he possessed Switzerland, and extended his sway through the dominions of the Huns and the Slavonic tribes, as far down the Danube as its confluence with the Theiss. At the conclusion of his German wars, he had conquered all the districts beyond the Rhine as far as the Elbe or the Vistula. He had, however, the good sense, while ruling over this vast empire, not to venture on impracticable expeditions. He made no attempt on England, then under the sovereignty of the wise and brave Alfred. On the other side lay the territories of the celebrated caliph Haroun al Raschid, stretching from Africa to India ; and to him Charlemagne showed the respect which one great man should feel for another. They sent embassies to each other's courts, and exchanged gifts, the record of which is curious, for we are told that the caliph gave the emperor a water-clock, and that Charlemagne presented him with an organ.

Wherever Charlemagne's dominion extended, he insisted on the christian religion being the rule of faith, though in the more distant provinces it could not be strictly enforced. Saxony was divided into eight episcopal sees, whose bishops were invested with almost sovereign power. Such was the origin of those great German spiritual fiefs, which for ten centuries ruled over no inconsiderable part of the empire. Charles was also profusely liberal in founding religious houses ; and it may be observed that this was the only means by which he could in those days provide for the general education of the people,—an object which he had strongly at heart. As a ruler he was often the protector of the weak against the tyranny of the strong. We shall see afterwards how the progress of the feudal system created a number of petty tyrants all over Europe. Charlemagne interrupted this system in its growth by concentrating all power in himself. It was his pride to give redress whenever the people complained of their grievances or the oppression of their judges. He established a plan

similar to the system of assizes and circuits in Britain; he sent judges to administer justice in the provinces, under an obligation to return to his court and give an account of their proceedings. The advantages of this course were, that these royal officers did not form connexions or adopt local prejudices; and as they were in each place only for a short period, they had little inducement to commit injustice. At the same time they were a check on the powerful nobles and others who might be inclined to abuse their personal influence. His laws, passed in the assemblies of his nobles and chief advisers, were long celebrated for their wisdom. They are to be found in the capitularies or books of chapters of the laws of the ancient French kings, and have been frequently published. Charlemagne left behind him many considerable buildings and public works. He entertained great and enlightened projects, and among others attempted to unite the Rhine and the Danube by a canal, some portions of the banks of which are visible to this day. He had five successive wives, having repudiated the first and second; and his domestic character, although far above the average of the kings who had preceded him, was not so spotless as some historians would represent it. He is described as tall, strong, and handsome, but with one marked personal defect, a short neck.

The latter days of his long reign were occupied in raising fortifications to protect his dominions from the northern pirates, and in preparing fleets with which to encounter them at sea. In the year 813 he appointed Louis his colleague in the empire. His two other sons were dead; but Bernard, his grandson, he made king of Italy. He died in January 814, at Aix-la-Chapelle, his favourite place of residence, and where he had built a church which still forms one of the noblest specimens of christian architecture. His remains were placed beneath a stately dome,—not prostrate like those of ordinary men, but seated on a throne, wearing a crown, and clad in the imperial robes, as if to remind the world that he had been a king.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What kind of division took place at the death of Clovis? Give an idea of the morality of the times. Who were celebrated for their crimes? Who were the Sluggard Kings, and why were they called so? How

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did the king generally live? Describe the origin and power of the mayors of the palace.

2. Who was Charles Martel? By what distinct races were his territories invaded? What feats did he perform? What great system has been supposed to originate with Martel? How did the conquering chiefs reward their followers? How did this system create a class of society different from any among the Romans? What vestiges of the system remain in courts? Who was Pepin?

3. What was the early history of Charlemagne? Describe the general influence of his reign on European history. What difficulties had he to combat with? How is his history divided? What was his conduct to the Saxons? Who was Witikind? How was the Saxon war concluded? Describe the other wars of Charlemagne.

4. How was Charlemagne made emperor? What political purpose did his elevation serve? What was his character as a supreme ruler? Give a general account of the extent of his dominions. How did he show his prudence? What was his conduct as to the religion of his subjects? How did he administer justice? Where do his laws exist? How was he occupied in his latter days? When did he die?

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### CHAPTER III.

#### FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY, WITH A HISTORY OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM, A. D. 814—987.

Breaking up of the Empire—Battle of Fontenay—The Invasions of the Northern Pirates—Siege of Paris—Their Acquisitions—Normandy ceded to Rollo—The Normans—Progress of the Feudal System—Rise of separate Principalities—Counts of Paris—Hugh Capet—Military Vassalage.

1. THE race of kings which began with Charlemagne's father, Charles Martel, has been called the Carlovingian, to distinguish it from the Merovingian, which went before it, and the Capetian, which supplied all the kings of France from Hugh Capet to Louis Philippe. The history of Charlemagne's immediate descendants is but the narrative of the ruin of the power he had so laboriously raised, and of the useful institutions he had founded; and it would afford little instruction to give a list of his descendants, with all the mistakes and follies, not to mention crimes, of which they were guilty. His son and immediate successor was called Louis (*Ludwig*) le Debonnair, or the good tempered, and he stands on the list of French kings as Louis the First.

He succeeded to the dignity of emperor as well as that of king of France, and possessed all Charlemagne's dominions excepting Italy, which, as already mentioned, had gone to his nephew Bernard. Notwithstanding his character for good humour, having had a quarrel with this nephew, he seized him and ordered his eyes to be put out. The remainder of his reign was embittered by the revolt of his sons. His death was said to have been partly caused by vexation on account of their conduct, and partly by fright at an eclipse of the sun, which he supposed to forebode some special judgment directed against him. His sons quarrelled fiercely for his dominions, which they had almost divided among themselves while he was yet alive. Louis had desired to leave the greater part of his French territory to Charles, a son by his second wife Judith, while Lothaire, the eldest son, succeeded to the empire. During the war between the brothers, which this dispute  
 A.D. } occasioned, the celebrated battle of Fontenay was  
 481. } fought, in which the old chroniclers relate that one hundred thousand people were killed. It is impossible to believe this statement in its full extent; but there is no doubt that the war, and especially this battle, brought much ruin on the unhappy countries whose people had to bear the burden of this ambitious conflict among the brothers. By this terrible struggle the Frank empire was exhausted; henceforward the race of the conquerors of Gaul existed in bands too weak to domineer over that vast country; the Germanic nobility was almost destroyed, and replaced by a secondary peerage, combining the elements of both nations. Gaul and Frank now became undistinguishable; and from the blood-stained field of Fontenay we may date the origin of the *French* nation.

The issue of the battle was adverse to Lothaire; but his brothers, paralyzed by their own losses, were not able to follow up their success, and by the treaty of Verdun, Ger-  
 A.D. } many was separated from France, and became the  
 843. } territory of Louis called the Germanic. The general boundary of the two countries was the Rhine, a few towns on the French side only belonging to the Germans.

The vast territories ruled over by Charlemagne were so variously partitioned among his several descendants, that

any attempt to show how often and in what different ways they were divided would lead to confusion. In the year 884, nearly the whole empire was united under Charles the Fat; but it soon again fell to pieces, and France remained separate from Germany.

2. THE NORTHMEN.—The most remarkable incidents in the history of Europe, but chiefly in that of France, during the times that followed the reign of Charlemagne, are connected with the incursions of the northern pirates. It has been thought that this mighty emperor himself helped to bring them into existence by his conquests and severities, and that, by driving the Saxons and other Germans from their territories in the heart of Europe, he compelled them to live on desolate and distant shores, where they could only obtain the luxuries and comforts to which they had been accustomed by plundering happier climes. If this be true, certainly a heavy retribution fell on France for her conquests under Charlemagne. The rapidity and energy with which these pirates acted were truly marvellous. Their vessels were numerous, and swarmed in every sea. Charlemagne himself is said to have wept when in his old age he saw the white sails of a Norman freebooter in the Mediterranean, as anticipating the miseries which it presaged for France and Italy. But these hardy adventurers went farther still, and are known to have crossed the Atlantic on predatory visits to America.

The manner in which they conducted their inroads showed great skill and intrepidity. Sometimes they took up a position on a rocky island off the coast, and there fortified themselves, so that during their ravages they had always a safe retreat. At other times they contented themselves with their vessels as a refuge. When they had determined to plunder a rich and peaceful country, they issued from their ships, seized everything valuable within their reach, and then retiring with their booty, were safe on board their vessels and out to sea before the inhabitants could take the alarm and gather to the spot, or make any attempt to intercept them. The successors of Charlemagne abandoned his arrangements for keeping a fleet at sea to meet these pirates on their own element, and thus protect the coasts. They were too feeble and too much occupied with internal wars



to accomplish any such general project. Sometimes, instead of being resisted as enemies, the invaders were courted as allies; and the consequence was, that instead of confining their operations to the coasts, they marched into the country in considerable bodies, took possession of towns, <sup>A. D. } 842-3.</sup> and overran large districts. Under the reign of Charles the Bald they took Nantes and Rouen. In the latter town the people had taken refuge with their clergy in the church. But the pirates were heathens, and as the sacred buildings contained the greatest amount of riches, they were the chief objects of their rapine, and they hesitated not to pillage the sanctuary, and put to death those who had sought an asylum within its walls.

<sup>A. D. } 851.</sup> A short time afterwards, a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels, under the general command of Oger the Dane, approached the devoted coast of France. It sailed in three divisions up the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Seine, pillaging and destroying. Many religious houses fell beneath this invasion, and the palace of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle was reduced to ruin. During the same period the Saracens pressed forward from the Mediterranean side of France, and the swarthy children of the desert almost met the giant warriors of the north on the field of common plunder. This double devastation was so terrible that the scanty civilisation seemed to be retiring from the country. Lands that had been peopled and cultivated fell back into their pristine savage state, and new forests arose, where bears and wolves increased in unusual numbers.

About the middle of the ninth century, these horrors had reached their utmost limits. The pirates sailed up the Loire and pillaged Orleans; after which they ascended the Seine, and plundering and burning on every side, <sup>A. D. } 856.</sup> sented themselves before Paris, where they established a fortified camp and spent the winter. On the 28th December 856, they entered the city, which they found unprotected and almost deserted; and proceeded in their usual devastation of the churches and religious houses. When they had nearly completed their work, they were bribed to leave the remaining few untouched, while at the same time their predatory gains were increased by the seizure of church dignitaries, for whose ransom large sums of money

were occasionally paid. Nothing but the wandering habits of these Northmen prevented their now becoming masters of France. A few years later, the feeble king, Charles <sup>866.</sup> } le Chauve, or the Bald, entered into a treaty with them, by which they agreed to abandon the central portion of his dominions for the sum of four thousand livres, which was raised by a heavy tax on his impoverished subjects. This suicidal policy secured only a partial relief from the scourge. In twenty years they again laid siege to Paris. A.D. } Charles the Fat met them there, but it was to nego-  
<sup>866.</sup> } tiate, not to fight; and on this occasion the unwarlike king showed his experience in the wiles of diplomacy. The district of Burgundy refused to acknowledge his sovereignty, and he made a stipulation with the pirates, when they left the neighbourhood of Paris, that they might pillage the disobedient territory at their pleasure.

3. The very conquests, however, of the pirates now began to operate against themselves. For upwards of a century they had been sending host after host into France, and many little bands remaining behind formed colonies of Northmen, who settled in the country, and made common cause with it. Hence it sometimes happened that the most powerful opponents encountered by an invading party were their fellow-countrymen who had been left behind in previous incursions. The feeble kings of France, assisted by the priests, did what they could to conciliate the invaders, and convert them into quiet christian citizens; but these attempts at first met with a rough reception. For a bribe the invaders often agreed to become Christians, and then laughing at the priests, kicked down the ceremonial furniture of the church, and perhaps ended by carrying on their wild revels beneath its roof, drinking strong liquors out of the sacred vessels. At other times they partook of the sacrament, and professed adherence to the church, for the sake of the fine clothes in which it was the practice to array converts. But with all these impediments at first, the Northmen gradually became christian and civilized, and began to learn the language and adopt the manners of the country.

But the most effectual method for inducing them to become quiet citizens was by making them grants of landed

property. This practice commenced about the year 850, when a small district on the banks of the Seine was given to Godfrid, the admiral-in-chief of one of the invading fleets. The example was followed from time to time, and the northern pirates settled down as peacefully as could be expected in that age.

ROLLO.—During the reign of Charles the Simple, the Northmen again threatened Paris, under the command of the celebrated Rolf or Rollo, whose name is connected with events which had an influence on the history of Europe second only to the deeds of Charlemagne. The king offered him a whole province for himself and his followers if they would agree to live peaceably in the country. They accepted the offer, and thus became possessed of that large and valuable tract of land on the coast of France opposite to England, which, after them, was called Normandy. An incident characteristic of the rude pride <sup>912.</sup> of these reckless warriors occurred at the time when this arrangement was made. It was stipulated that homage should be done by the Norman; but Rollo being unwilling to undergo this humiliation, compromised the matter by ordering one of his followers to perform the ceremony. Part of it consisted in kissing the king's foot; and the rough soldier raised the royal limb with such a jerk that Charles was thrown to the ground. Yet these Normans, with all their original rudeness, showed that they were come of a true and valuable stock, for when they had mixed for some time with the French, and acquired their language and manners, they stood at the head of their age for accomplishments, courage, and enlightened energy. At an after-period they exercised an important influence on the destinies of Britain.

4. THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.—The Normans are always associated with the feudal system, because they brought it into Britain. They had, however, an intimate connexion with its progress to completeness, which took place chiefly in France, though the system itself spread over all Europe. The term *feudal* is derived from a common French word *fief*, which was usually applied to nearly all the landed estates in that country. The English word *fee*, when referring to land and not to a sum of money, has a like

meaning, and comes from the same root. In Scotland it is called *feu*, and it is from this substantive, in its various forms, that the word *feudal* has been derived.

It has been already mentioned that the German conquerors used to give grants of land as a reward to their followers, and it will be remembered that Charlemagne took great pains to prevent the holders of such lands from acquiring any separate dominion over them; while he was fond of aiding the humbler classes when they had any complaints to make against the lords of the soil. It was quite otherwise, however, with his successors. The people felt that the Carlovingian kings were unable to protect them against the Northmen and the Saracens, and therefore transferred their allegiance to any leaders who would help them to repel their enemies. In this manner, the nobles, who under a powerful monarch like Charlemagne had nothing but their rank and their riches, began to obtain some authority as intermediate kings between the populace and the sovereign. These feudatories were not allowed to build castles on their lands; but when the people found that such buildings were their only protection against the Norwegian pirates and the Saracens, it was not easy or humane to enforce the prohibition. At the same time this progress of events was aided by the distribution of estates among the Normans, whose leader was a sort of king over them, although he held his lands within the dominions of the King of France.

Thus, by degrees, the greater part of the territory of France was partitioned off among secondary princes or monarchs. Boson, the brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, A. D. } became king of Provence. Rodolph Wolf created  
879. } a dukedom for himself in Burgundy; the duchy of Gascony grew up at the foot of the Pyrenees; and Regnier, count of Hainault, found himself in possession of Lorraine, which was made a German principality independent of the crown of France. In 937, Alain Barbeterte took Nantes, and relieved Brittany from the Normans, who had caused such desolation, that when he proceeded to the cathedral to return thanks for his victory, he had to cut his way through a dense thicket of brambles. It was no wonder therefore that the people rallied round him, and prefer-

red his rule to that of a king who could give them no protection. Even the country round Paris was held by sovereign counts, one of whom, on the death of Louis V., became king of France.

5. HUGH CAPET, duke of France, count of Paris and A. D. } Orleans, brother to the Duke of Burgundy, and bro-  
987. } ther-in-law to the Duke of Normandy, was the most powerful of the great feudatories of the crown. His own vassals were the first to salute him king,—an accession of dignity which met with no opposition from the seven or eight prelates and barons whom it more particularly concerned. Thus was founded the celebrated Capetian dynasty, the third that ruled over France, and the ancestors of the Bourbons. From the year 987 down to the year 1848, with the exception of the periods of the first republic and of Napoleon, this family occupied the throne.

It will easily be supposed that one of their own number would have still less authority over the feudal princes than a descendant of the great emperor. When Hugh Capet said to the turbulent Count of Anjou, "Who made you a count?" the answer was, "Who made you a king?" The original domain of Hugh Capet, indeed, where he held full regal authority, consisted only of that central district which formed the province of the Isle of France, with the Orleanais on the one side and Picardy on the other. After the accession of the Capetian race, the principles of feudalism rapidly increased. All the great officers became in some measure petty kings, and to them the word duke, derived from the Latin *dux*, a general or leader, was usually applied. Charlemagne and his successors employed in the transaction of the business of the provinces an officer named *count*, from the Latin *comes*, which means a *companion*; but afterwards, the persons thus employed as regal vicegerents gradually acquired an authority of their own, and established a sort of court and army. On the marches or the borders of the country a peculiar officer was appointed to protect the frontiers, called the *march count* or *marquis*—and he too came to be possessed of a kind of kingly power within his province. But the system descended still lower, for as these noblemen professed to hold their territories by a feudal dependence on the French crown,

they in their turn, to fortify themselves against the power of the king, and to have an army at their command, encouraged others to hold lands under them. A person who had thus taken an oath to a duke or count, and received a gift of lands, was called an *antrustion*, a word derived from the same root as the English word *trust*, and importing that there was trust reposed in him. In Latin they were named *fideles* or *faithful men*, and also received the appellation of vassals. Enjoying their lands by the gift or permission of their lord, they acknowledged his sovereignty, and agreed to make a return for it; but that return, instead of being like the rent which the tenant of the present day pays in money for a farm, consisted chiefly of military service. Thus they engaged to protect the territory from invasion—to go out and fight with the chief against his enemies—to garrison his castles—and sometimes even to work at his fortifications or perform the duties of husbandry. Here then were three steps of feudal rank. The monarch at the head; the dukes, counts, and other nobles, who were in reality princes, but still professed to owe allegiance to the monarch and to do homage to him; and the vassals, who came under a like obligation to the princes. In some cases there was a fourth class; for the territory held by the dependants of the dukes and counts was at times so considerable that they gave part of it to subvassals, who did homage to them and acknowledged their superiority. At first the lower grades did not hold their fiefs on the hereditary system—that is to say, the son did not necessarily succeed to the father, but on the death of the person who had first obtained the lands, they reverted to his lord. The term applied to a fief of this kind was the Latin word *precarium*, coming from the same source as our word *precarious*. But as the crown descended from father to son, and the dominions of the feudal princes followed the same rule, a similar practice came into use among their vassals, and the hereditary principle, by which land always goes to the eldest son, while other property is divided among all the children, thus generally prevailed. In fact, it followed naturally from the position in which all the parties found themselves. When a duke or a count, who had protected a large province from the northern pirates or the Saracens,

fell fighting, his eldest son was the best person to take his place and continue his warlike services; and if a dependent on this duke or count, holding any small territory by military service, died, then the same thing happened,—his nearest male relation was the most likely person to keep the land. Thus it came to be a general rule, that the eldest son succeeded the father in the fief. Even after this practice became universal, however, the feudal lords kept up a form of acknowledgment of their power. When it was uncertain whether the son might succeed or not, they allowed him to do so on payment of a certain sum of money. Gradually it became the uniform practice to pay this money by way of tax or fine, whenever a new person inherited the fief or property as it might be called; and this custom, which had its origin in the weakness of Charlemagne's descendants, was brought into England by the Normans, and is practised in the British empire at the present day, with several other feudal customs which are of an equally ancient date.

6. The effect of all these changes bore very hard on the original tillers of the soil, who desired to be dependent on no man, but to live by their industry, neither fighting nor serving. These persons were called aremans and allodial holders, after the feudal practices came into operation. It has been already said that Charlemagne endeavoured to make his own power felt throughout all his dominions, and would not allow the powerful nobles to tyrannize over the people. Even in his reign, however, some efforts seem to have been made towards feudalism, for a capitulary of the year 811 says, that complaints have come to the emperor that those poor persons who do not attach themselves to some chief and follow him in war, are subject to exactions. Gradually the allodial holders were rooted out, for both lords and vassals were against the man who professed to be poor and independent, and to owe service to no superior. Some of them agreed to hold their lands of the lord of the district, though they had never received them from him; while many of the others sank into that unfortunate and degraded class, who had no position in the feudal hierarchy, and were mere slaves bound to the soil, liable to serve any master who might occupy it.

The fruits of this system will be shown more fully as we proceed with the history of France; but in the mean time it may be said generally, that it had the effect of producing civil wars, sometimes between the king and the nobles,—sometimes among the nobles themselves; that it occasioned much oppression and injustice in the provinces, where the local courts of the great barons decided matters without responsibility to any higher tribunal; that it created an unnecessary confusion in the laws of the country, as each province had its own system; that it made the inhabitants of the several provinces strangers, and hostile to each other; and that, finally and worst of all, it deprived the people of civil liberty, by thus dividing them into separate states, and preventing them from acting together against the oppressions of the kings and the nobility.

This state of matters may be better understood, if we endeavour to explain how it differed from the institutions of England, where the feudal system existed in a modified form. The English kings, from the Conqueror downwards, were always the undisputed monarchs of the whole country. If they had been like those of France, they would have had a count in Yorkshire, another in Kent, and another in Norfolk, each doing homage to the king, and professing to hold his territory of the crown; while at the same time he was essentially a king within his own district, had his own courts of law, and tyrannized over his vassals without control. Some attempts were made by the barons in England from time to time to raise themselves to such a position; but the king was always too strong for them, and they consequently failed. A feudal superiority over Scotland was pretended by the kings of England; and if it had been genuine, it would have been very like the superiority exercised by the French monarchs over Normandy and Aquitaine. But Scotland had not been under the dominion of the ancestors of the English kings as the French provinces had been under Charlemagne. A special act of parliament had perhaps a considerable effect in keeping England free from the evils of the feudal system; it prohibited the owners of lands from making any portion of them over to persons who were to hold of them as vassals, and thus prevented the aristocracy from multiplying their dependents. But as



one of the main causes of feudalism in France was the abjectness of the common people under the tyrannical rule of the northern pirates and the Saracens, so one of the main safeguards against it in England consisted in the independence of the people, who were able to represent themselves in parliament. When the monarch opposed the nobles, he derived his chief aid from the commons, and thus the liberty of the subject was identified with the strength of the crown. In France the people could not show their strength in this manner, because their representatives, instead of sitting in the general parliament of the kingdom, were sent only to the provincial assemblies of their feudal lords, where they exercised nothing like the power of a national assembly.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What is the nature of the history of France after Charlemagne's death? How were his dominions divided? What was the cause and what the result of the battle of Fontenay? What was the name of the treaty which followed it? About what period was Charlemagne's dominions almost reunited?

2. What is supposed to have driven the Northmen to their piratical incursions? How far did they penetrate? Describe the methods in which they acted when making their descents. What emboldened them in their attempts? What expedition took place under Oger? What people invaded France from the other side? What was the state of the country? Describe the attempts of the Northmen on Paris.

3. How did the invaders come to be the most material check against their countrymen? What was the general result of attempts to convert the pirates? How were they most effectually made quiet citizens? What arrangement was made with Rollo? Describe the general qualities of the Normans?

4. What great system is connected with the Normans? What is the derivation of the word feudal? How did the weakness of the crown allow the feudal lords to grow up? Mention some instances of their aggrandizement. What effect had their rise on the disposal of the throne?

5. How did Hugh Capet acquire the crown? Of what race was he the founder? Mention an incident showing the limited power of the crown. Give an account of the origin and authority of the dukes, counts, marquises, &c. How were their vassals constituted? By what other names were they known? What was the *precarium*? Describe the method in which hereditary descent came into use.

6. What was the effect of the feudal system on the original tillers of the soil? What were they called? What was their ultimate fate? What were the effects of the system on the administration of justice, the government, and liberties of the French people? Describe the difference between France and England in this respect, and the circumstances which enabled the latter country to preserve her liberties.

## CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY TO THE  
END OF THE SIXTH CRUSADE, A. D. 987—1254.

The Successors of Hugh Capet—Robert and the Ecclesiastics—Pestilence and Famine—Chivalry—Ordinance of Knighthood—The Normans—Louis the Fat—Rise of Towns—Philip Augustus and King John—The Albigenes—De Montfort—The Crusades—Peter the Hermit—St Louis and the Sixth Crusade.

1. HUGH CAPET, who enjoyed a far quieter reign than is usually the lot of those who are the first of a new line of kings, to secure the throne to his family, associated his son Robert with him in the government, though he himself never went through the ceremony of coronation. Robert, who succeeded his father in 997, was thus the first of the Capetian race who wore the crown. The church of Rome, encouraged by the favour of Charlemagne, had been gradually acquiring that influence in France which procured for its monarchy the title of eldest son of the church. The clergy found a great helper and sympathiser in Robert, who was a very pious but not a very wise king, and apt to carry the rigour of religious observances to an extent which the more prudent churchmen about him did not sanction. Kindness to every one, even to the vicious, seems to have been his chief failing, and he was fond of conniving at the escape of criminals. It is said that when a thief had stolen a precious ornament from his robe, and the guards were anxiously searching for him, the king, who saw the act, whispered to the culprit that he had better leave the place, as there were others who needed the remaining ornaments more than he did. So, when an ecclesiastic had stolen a golden candlestick, he recommended him to remove to another country, as he could now afford to travel. There was a relic said to be a piece of the true cross, on which the people used to make their vows. Robert was shocked by the frequency with which these vows

were broken ; and that the people might not be guilty of so deadly a sin as they themselves believed that they committed, he caused the fragment to be taken out of the shrine, and an egg to be put in its place. This legend gives a very poor idea of the truthfulness of the French people in that age, as well as of the efficacy of relics to promote virtuous conduct. Zeal for their cause did not procure him respect or kindness from the ecclesiastics. By his marriage with his fourth cousin he incurred the penalties of excommunication, and his kingdom was put under an interdict ; he was abandoned by all, as if he had been infected with a loathsome disease, and was at length compelled to repudiate his wife Bertha. The marriage-contract was a favourite engine of sacerdotal authority in those times, and in England, not long before, Dunstan had used it with odious severity against King Edwy.

PLAGUE AND FAMINE.—Towards the close of the tenth century an opinion prevailed, founded on an erroneous interpretation of the twentieth chapter of the book of Revelation, that the thousandth year after the Incarnation would see the beginning of the reign of Antichrist, and that the end of the world was at hand. In consequence of this almost general belief, business was neglected—the land was untilled—and with a strange inconsistency, which the monks directed to their own advantage, a large amount of property of all kinds was bequeathed to the monasteries. As if to confirm the baseless panic, the whole country was desolated by plague and pestilence ; but its worst scourge was a series of famines so terrible, that it is difficult at this day to conceive the descriptions of them to be true. Much as we are accustomed to speak of the good old times, the advance of civilisation has rendered such visitations less severe, so that though they may press hardly on the sufferers, they make but a small figure in history. For three years in succession, continued rains and sunless summers had prevented the fruits of the earth from ripening ; and so terrible a famine ensued, that human flesh was, on one occasion at least, sold in the market ; and even the graves were violated, that the dead might support the living. Men went out to hunt each other, as they would beasts of prey ; and children, tempted by some trifling present into

unfrequented places, were killed and devoured. Pestilence followed and completed what famine had begun: wolves and bears, impelled by hunger, collected in numerous bands, and attacked alike the living and the dead. At length, in 1034, a harvest of almost fabulous abundance put an end to these terrible scenes of suffering. Such are the things which the chroniclers of the period relate. The progress of the feudal system and these calamities are the principal events of a national kind which are recorded of France under the early Capetian kings. The chief warlike and political events were rather provincial than national, and they could not be detailed in a distinct manner, unless by giving a separate history of every one of the provinces. An account of the reign of each king would not be a history of France during that period, because, among the counts and other lords of provinces, there were sometimes men who held a much more important position than that of the king himself.

2. CHIVALRY.—Next in importance to the establishment of the feudal system, may be estimated the rise of chivalry and the crusades,—matters which had an immense influence upon the people, high and low, from the beginning of the Capetian dynasty till it had been three hundred years on the throne. They were at the same time intimately connected with the progress of that system. Chivalry spread more or less over all Europe, but France was its birthplace; and the term itself is derived from the French word *cheval*, signifying a horse. If we had lived at the time when the feudal system began, we might not have been able to predict that the practice of chivalry would have arisen out of it; but now that we can look back upon the history of both, it becomes evident that the latter was nourished by the former. The feudal system had this effect, that instead of one great nation being set against another, as Gaul was against Rome in old times, and France or Spain against England at a later period, the ruler of one district or province was often at feud with the lord of another. Thus, instead of belonging to large armies, employed in fighting pitched battles, the young men learned to carry on personal quarrels with their neighbours. When the holders of fiefs increased in number,

and each one built a castle for himself, that he might be able to defend his own lands, the inmates of these strongholds learned nothing but the art of war ; and when there were no national conflicts in which they could be engaged, they had no means of exercising their warlike abilities but by contests with each other. Thus arose a system which the Greeks and Romans could not have understood—people fighting against each other without animosity, and refusing to take advantage of the opportunities to vanquish and slay their opponents which fortune sometimes threw in their way. It was quite a new thing in the annals of warfare that two men should fight with deadly weapons in their hands, and with the intention that the one should kill the other, and yet that they should follow prescribed rules, which prohibited their embracing certain chances of victory, however tempting.

Such were a few of the peculiarities of chivalry, or as it is sometimes called knight-errantry, because, after it had risen to its highest pitch of extravagance, knights wandered about in search of adventures. But the secret of the peculiar restraints by which it was prevented from assuming a savage aspect must be attributed to the influence of Christianity. The priests established the predominance of religious forms and ceremonies over this system of feudal quarrelling. The knight of chivalry, whose duty it was to fight, was subject to nearly as many ordeals for severing him from the pomps and vanities of the world as the priest himself. When the youth of noble birth aspired to knighthood, he had first of all to be bathed, as a symbol of purification. From this part of the ancient ceremony, an illustrious body in Great Britain are still denominated the Knights of the Bath ; but it is not understood that they undergo the operation so literally as did the French knights of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. When he left the bath, he was clad in white, as the symbol of purity, and had afterwards to endure a fast of twenty-four hours, to confess to his priest, and generally to hear a long exhortation on the religion, fidelity, and self-sacrifice that ought to mark his course in life. The sword he was to wear received a priestly blessing. When these ceremonies were performed, knights and ladies arrayed him in his mail and

hung his sword by his side. The lord who was to confer knighthood on him gave him three strokes with the flat part of his sword, and consecrating him in the name of God and some of the saints, enjoined him to be brave, bold, and loyal, and by that act adopted him into the order. All this generally took place within some noble Gothic church, where the new-made knight leaped on his charger, and rode forth caracoling and brandishing his lance, to the great admiration of the mob without, who looked with idle wonder on such scenes.

Although knight-errantry would no doubt be considered ridiculous at the present day, in a barbarous age its institution exercised a beneficial influence on society. According to the rules of chivalry, the true knight was the avenger of outrage, calumny, and wrong, the defender of the widow and the orphan. He was taught to protect female innocence, and nothing was so glorious or delightful to him as to rescue some beautiful and virtuous damsel from a wicked monster who had seized on her for his own evil purposes. He counted as unknighly everything that was sordid and mean, and abjured avarice. These were unquestionably all virtues of a high order, had they been made subservient to some better end than the promotion of strife. Chivalry kept down assumption and arrogance; for even the most powerful prince was looked upon as inferior to the knights, unless they consented to receive him as a member of their order. But, on the other hand, they were haughty and supercilious to those beneath them, believing that they were elevated on a standard far above the rest of the world. They were intolerant in religious matters, and held themselves bound, as champions of the true faith, to put to death all who were opposed to it. In their wild flights of fancy, as they wandered in lonely forests and over mountains in search of adventures, they imagined themselves fighting with giants, dragons, and fiends; but when the Crusades broke out they found real work, which gave full scope to all their ardour.

3. In the year 1066, the French king was to a certain extent relieved from a dangerous neighbour. The Normans had carried their conquests into Italy, and frequently threatened to annihilate the regal authority in France, when

they were drawn off by the invasion of England, which offered a tempting field for their avarice. French history is otherwise bare of marked events from the accession of the Capetian race to the beginning of the twelfth century, when Louis VI., surnamed the Fat, ascended the throne. He greatly strengthened the royal authority; but in doing so, he had to fight several hard battles with feudal barons whose castles were but a few miles from Paris. In his reign the humbler classes began to acquire a little power; and the system of communes or corporations, which had been established under the Romans, was revived. People united themselves together in towns for common protection and the objects of trade, and obtained privileges which relieved them from the exactions of the feudal lords. As this system made progress, large towns grew up, such as Paris, Lyons, Toulon, Nantes, Rheims, and many others. They were a great blessing to the country, for by union, firmness, and the occasional aid of the monarch, they were able to protect themselves from the ruthless feudal nobility, and their citizens were the only inhabitants of France who were not either tyrants or slaves. It was in the reign of Louis the Fat that the French king had his first conflict with the English—the beginning of a train of events which entailed great calamities on France. His son, Louis the Young, acquired by marriage the states of Guienne and Poitou, but lost them by repudiating his wife, who carried them as a dower to her new husband, Henry II. of England, then duke of Normandy. By inheritance, marriage, and conquest, Henry was master of an extent of territory corresponding with forty-seven of the present departments, while Louis VII. held only twenty, inclusive of the domains of the crown-vassals.

Louis was succeeded by Philip Augustus, who reigned down to the year 1223, and was the first brilliant monarch of the Capetian race. He greatly enlarged the boundaries of the kingdom. He was a bold ambitious man, and successfully took advantage of the weakness and wickedness of John, king of England. Indeed, if the English had not been at that time brave and independent, the imprudent conduct of their king might have brought them under the dominion of the crown of France. The means by which

Philip exercised an authority over John were these. The English monarch was still Duke of Normandy, and in that capacity he was a vassal of the King of France. It was common even for very powerful sovereigns to hold a portion of their dominions in this manner. The King of Scotland held Cumberland and some parts of the south of Scotland of the crown of England, and did homage for them; and the King of France himself, in like manner, held an estate from the abbot of St Denis. When John acquired the English throne, Philip took the part of his nephew the young prince Arthur, as the true heir of Normandy, Anjou, and the other French dominions of the English crown. At the siege of Mirabeau in Poitou, the poor youth fell into his uncle's hands, and, as he was never heard of more, it was believed that he had been put to death. Philip charged John with the crime, and cited him to appear in Paris as a feudal vassal to answer for it. When a safe conduct was demanded, the answer of Philip was, "Willingly—let him come unmolested;" but the English ambassador not liking the manner in which this was said, desired that it should also apply to his return, on which Philip exclaimed, "By all the saints in France, he shall not return unless he be acquitted." John did not appear to answer the summons, and Philip then proceeded to accomplish the purpose for which it had been issued. He treated John as we treat a criminal who escapes from justice; outlawed him, and declared all his estates forfeited. This was of course a full justification for taking possession of them, and in a short

A. D. } time they were overrun by French troops. Thus,  
 1203-5. } in about two years the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou were attached to the crown of France; and Poitou and Guienne soon followed.

When the pope quarrelled with John, and professed to deprive him of his kingdom, he knew well that his sentence would be of no avail unless he could find some powerful prince to carry it out. He therefore made a gift of the territory to Philip Augustus, who, requiring no better justification for an immediate invasion, collected a large army at Rouen, and a fleet of 1700 vessels. When John submitted, the pope recalled his gift to Philip, who, infuriated by what he called the trickery of the court of Rome, was



still determined to execute his enterprise. But the ocean, which has so often befriended the British isles, was true to them on this occasion: the Earl of Salisbury met the French fleet, fought it, took three hundred of the small vessels or galleys, and destroyed several more. Such was the first of the series of naval conflicts in which France has suffered such terrible disaster.

4. THE ALBIGENSES.—At this time there existed in the south-eastern part of France, near the Mediterranean Sea, a sect of Christians called Albigenses, after the diocese of Albi, in which they were very numerous. Their peculiar opinions are not very distinctly ascertained, but it is known that they differed from the church of Rome on several fundamental points. The pope, Innocent III., sent commissioners to deal with them,—a measure equivalent to the establishment of an inquisition. One of these commissioners was assassinated; upon which Innocent proclaimed a crusade against the province of Languedoc. The army was commanded by Simon de Montfort, a rigorous and merciless man, who believed that by slaughter and oppression he was doing God service. Such horrible cruelties as he perpetrated on women as well as men, and on children and old people, were not again exemplified in the history of France, at least on so large a scale, until the Reign of Terror, during the revolution towards the close of the eighteenth century. The main consequence of the crusade was, that the greater part of Languedoc became attached to the crown of France.

THE CRUSADES.—Other expeditions of a more interesting and chivalrous character form a material feature in the history of France at this time. As the early Christians were accustomed to make pilgrimages to the tombs of holy men, and to the places frequented by them during life, it was natural that Jerusalem, with its holy sepulchre and the other spots connected with the history of our Saviour, should be the chief objects of this kind of devotion. While Palestine was in possession of Haroun al Raschid and his Arabian successors, the christian pilgrims were kindly received; but after the Turks had overrun the Holy Land, they met with scorn and oppression. Many of them had to tell of hardships, calamities, and dangers escaped, and it

was remarked that on one occasion, of seven thousand who left Europe, only two thousand returned.

5. PETER THE HERMIT.—A gentleman of good family, a native of Amiens in Picardy, who is known by the name of Peter the Hermit, was one of the pilgrims to Jerusalem. He saw and suffered under the oppressions of the Turks. With a bosom throbbing with indignation, he discussed their common wrongs with the old patriarch of Jerusalem, to whom he vowed that he would rouse the christian world to rescue the holy sepulchre from pollution, and protect the christian wanderers from outrage. Being countenanced by the pope, he began his work in earnest. He was said to be a little, insignificant, almost decrepit-looking man, with nothing to indicate the ardour of his soul but a bright piercing eye. He often fasted and held self-communion in dreary solitudes, where his imagination ran riot. Possessing little of the world's goods, he wandered about barefooted and bareheaded, with only a slight covering of the coarsest cloth; but he was master of the key to the human heart in that rude and excitable age. Wherever he went, he roused the people with his fiery words, as the flame carried by the wind sets fire to the heath. In the palace—in the rude baron's castle—in the lofty nave of the cathedral, or on the village green—wherever Peter told his tale of cruelty and horror, he left a fierce hatred against the infidel, and a desire to succour the oppressed Christians.

At length Pope Urban II. held a great council at Claremont, in the mountainous district of Auvergne; at which, besides the cardinals, there were present thirteen archbishops and two hundred and twenty-five bishops, with a crowd of nobles and knights. The pope ascended a lofty platform, and preached to the people in the open air. As he went on exhorting them to go to Jerusalem and fight for their faith, he was interrupted by shouts from the people crying, "It is the will of God." "Yes," said the pope, "it is God's will. Wear then, as an external mark of your devotion and a symbol of your vow, a cross red like the blood you are prepared to shed." Thousands impressed upon their garments the sign of the cross, which became henceforward the well-known badge of the crusaders. Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, was

A.D. } the leader of the first crusade, and under him were  
 1096. } Hugh, brother of the king, and Robert, duke of Nor-  
 mandy.

In the reign of Louis VII., the Sultan of Aleppo had taken the city of Edessa, and after putting the inhabitants to the sword, threatened to invade Palestine. The pope, alarmed at the danger impending over Jerusalem, exhorted the princes of Christendom to take up arms in defence of their brethren in the East. Accordingly, a second assem-  
 blage was held at Vezelay, in the diocese of Nevers, where the great cathedral proving too small to hold those present, they assembled at the foot of a hill, whence the venerable St Bernard, tottering with age, delivered an exciting ad-  
 dress, and distributed crosses. The king himself led  
 A.D. } this second crusade. Philip Augustus followed his  
 1146. }  
 A.D. } example in the third crusade, in which he was the  
 1190. } fellow-warrior of Richard of England, called the Lion-  
 hearted. Their union was only apparent and of short dura-  
 tion, for a bitter rivalry broke out between them.

The sixth crusade was headed by Louis IX., commonly called St Louis, whose character and history were in many respects remarkable. His reign, which lasted from 1223 to 1270, was unusually long for that period of European history. He was at all times sensitively alive to the effect of religious impressions. In the year 1248, when seized with a grievous illness, he was so far reduced, that one of his attendants, saying all was over, proposed that a cloth should be put upon his face ; while another objected to this, which was looked on as the beginning of his burial, maintaining that he was still alive. During this conversation, he revived so suddenly, that he believed a miracle had been wrought on him ; and on the spot he dedicated himself to a pilgrimage in the Holy Land by having the cross laid on him. It was with grief that his mother and his other friends beheld one so exhausted adopting a resolution which involved such great hardships ; but the vow once taken was unalterable. He received the *oriflamme* or sacred banner of France from the Abbot of St Denis. This mysterious flag, consisting merely of some narrow stripes of red taffeta, was strangely associated in the minds of both high and low with the honour and safety of France ; and

its loss, which happened in the reign of Philip VI., was looked on as a national calamity. His army must have been large, for it filled eighteen hundred of the vessels of the period, in which he carried a number of horses for the knights. By the most moderate accounts his followers amounted to 50,000, by others to 130,000 men.

6. The departure of these crusaders must have been attended by many affecting incidents. The knights made out settlements of their property, and arranged how their affairs were to be managed should they never be heard of again, which was a very common case. The Lord of Joinville, who accompanied Louis and wrote a history of his life, gives an interesting account of the style of leave-taking. "Before my departure, I summoned all my men and vassals of Joinville, who came to me the vigil of Easter day, which was the birthday of my son John, lord of Ancerville, by my first wife, sister of the Count of Grand Pré. During that whole week, I was occupied in feasts and banquets by my brother de Vaucouleur, and all the rich men of that part of the country; where, after eating and drinking, we amused ourselves with songs, and led a joyous life. When Friday came, I addressed them thus, — 'Gentlemen, know that I am about to go to the Holy Land, and it is uncertain whether I may ever return. Should there be any of you, therefore, to whom I have done wrong, and who thinks he has cause of complaint, let him come forward: for I am willing to make amends.'" He then desired them to consult together unawed by his presence, and mention any complaint they had to make; for the true knight who went to the Holy Land required to be free from the reproach of leaving any unredressed wrong behind him. So the Lord of Joinville set off. After bidding farewell, he had to cross a part of the country which again brought him within sight of his own castle; and it is not surprising to find him saying, "I dared never turn my eyes that way for fear of feeling too great regret, and lest my courage should fail on leaving my two fine children and my fair castle of Joinville, which I loved in my heart."

Landing in Egypt, Louis took possession of the strong city of Damietta, which yielded without a struggle, on the supposition that the sultan was dead. But this was the

beginning and the end of the crusaders' good fortune. As they tried to proceed onwards, they were stopped by the overflowing of the Nile and by the harassing attacks of the Arabs, who used a sort of burning missile called Greek fire, the nature of which modern chemists have never been able to discover. It was as new and terrific to the Europeans as gunpowder afterwards became to the barbarians of Asia and America. The crusaders described it as sometimes consisting of burning lumps discharged on them from machinery, and sometimes as a large flaming mass, which gradually approached their ranks like a fiery dragon, burning their tents and timber castles, and setting fire to their garments, as the dresses of the Mamelukes, on nearly the same spot, were burnt by the musketry of Napoleon's infantry. Famine and pestilence at last began to thin the ranks of the crusaders, and they soon exhibited but the skeleton of an army. If Louis had chosen, he might have escaped and left his followers to their fate; but he was not a selfish man, and his heroic spirit bore up against all the calamities of his lot. At length, having trusted himself with a small number of followers too near the enemy, he was taken prisoner. He was in the hands of very unscrupulous and versatile enemies. At one time they threatened to torture him with the bernicles,—an instrument which crushed the small bones of the leg and caused excruciating pain; but afterwards agreed to set him at liberty on payment of a ransom of five hundred thousand livres. The king at once consented to pay the sum without haggling about its amount, and the sultan, to show an equal liberality, agreed to make it a hundred thousand less.

After his release, it might have been supposed that the king would gladly have returned to France. His nobles met and addressed him in the following reasonable terms: "Sire, my lords, your brothers and the other nobles now present, have fully considered your situation, and they are of opinion that you cannot remain longer in this country with honour to yourself or profit to your kingdom. For, in the first place, of all the knights whom you led to Cyprus, amounting to 2800, not one hundred remain. Secondly, you have not any habitation in this country, nor have your army any money. For these reasons, which we

have maturely weighed, we unanimously advise that you return to France to reinforce yourself with arms and supply yourself with money, so that you may hastily repair again hither, and take vengeance upon the enemies of God and his holy religion." The king, however, saying that if he departed the kingdom of Jerusalem would be lost, resolved to remain. He passed from Egypt into Palestine, and endured four years longer of hardships and adventures, which were not over with his departure, as A. D. } the vessel in which he had embarked thrice narrowly  
1254. } escaped shipwreck. The adventures of King Louis on this occasion may be considered as a fair specimen of the crusades.

## EXERCISES.

1. What was Hugh Capet's plan for strengthening his power? How did France become connected with the Church of Rome? Give an account of the character of King Robert, and mention some anecdotes which illustrate it. How did the ecclesiastics treat him? What was the nature of the great calamities which occurred at the end of the tenth century?

2. From what system did chivalry arise? Show how it thus arose from the feudal system. What influence was established over chivalry? Mention the ceremonies which accompanied the conferring of knighthood. What virtues did chivalry inculcate in theory? What were the good features of the system? Describe its defects.

3. How was the French monarchy relieved from a dangerous neighbour? Who was the first king in whose reign France became a national kingdom? Describe the manner in which the middle classes acquired some influence. When did the first conflict with England occur? Give an account of Philip Augustus, and what was remarkable in his reign. How was there an expectation that he might have been master of England?

4. Who were the Albigenses? What measures were taken against them? Who led the attack on them? What other expeditions of a religious character commenced? What gave origin to the crusades?

5. Describe the character of Peter the Hermit? What were the circumstances which incited him to preach the crusades? Describe what took place at Claremont. Where and in what manner was another assemblage held? Who headed the sixth crusade? What was the character of St Louis? What occurrence induced him to undertake the crusade?

6. What were the feelings with which the crusaders departed? What was the first achievement of Louis? In what peculiar manner were the crusaders opposed? What was the fate of the king and his followers? How was he induced to return?

## CHAPTER V.

FROM THE RETURN OF ST LOUIS TO THE DEATH OF PHILIP  
THE FAIR, A. D. 1254—1315.

St Louis—His Virtues and Peculiarities—The last Crusade—Extension of the French Territory—Sicilian Vespers—Philip the Fair—Flemish War of Independence—Quarrel with the Pope—The Templars—The States-general.

1. ST LOUIS was a very pious and conscientious prince, and thoroughly disinterested. Many of his actions were distinguished by a justice and a generosity which would be hardly less wonderful in any other age than they were in his own. And yet he was a very successful monarch, and did more than any ruler of France near his time to strengthen the royal prerogative and enlarge the boundaries of his kingdom. It is often said that there are certain stages of society when harshness, rapacity, and cruelty are necessary means of government; but the history of St Louis's reign shows that this may be doubted, and that goodness, justice, and mercy were more useful qualifications even in that rude and warlike age. He gave up the French claims on the sovereignty of Roussillon and Catalonia to the King of Aragon, who in his turn resigned some doubtful titles on districts or rather estates nearer the interior of France. Thus he avoided war, and perhaps in the end obtained more than it could have procured for him, for while he surrendered his own vague rights on distant dependencies, which a monarch who was in their more immediate neighbourhood had better means of subjecting, he kept undisputed possession of the more valuable territories nearer home. There was perhaps the same kind of wisdom in his conduct towards Henry III. of England, which has generally been treated as an act of ridiculous generosity. He is said to have entertained serious notions of restoring all the possessions which the English monarchs had by several titles held in France, includ-

ing Normandy and Anjou, which had been forfeited by King John. He argued, that as he and Henry were very nearly connected by marriage, and as their children would be cousins-german, it would be an agreeable thing to restore to them their rights. In fact, he spoke in the tone which a generous-minded owner of property might use in the present day, not desiring that his own family should possess the whole to the exclusion of the children of his relations. It may seem singular to the inhabitants of this country that princes should thus speak of their dominions as if they themselves alone were interested in them, without any consideration for the people, and the manner in which they might be governed; but the truth is, that the sovereignty of the smaller provinces thus transferred was rather a sort of feudal superiority over the land than a right to govern the people, to whom it was of little consequence whether the superior of the lords who ruled over them was the King of France or the King of England. These lords, however, had something to say in such changes, and they objected to Normandy being handed over to the King of England. In the end, Louis gave up to Henry, Limousin, Perigord, Querci, and Agenois; the consequence of which was, that Henry relinquished all claims on Normandy and Anjou. He could not probably have enforced them, but if he had persisted in them, they would have been a source of annoyance and apprehension to Louis.

2. Thus he strengthened his position in various ways. He was a brave soldier, and no one could gain by trying to intimidate him. He was so deeply devoted to piety that the churchmen counted him one of themselves, and were ready to support whatever he did. His generosity at the same time corresponded with the chivalrous feeling of the age. In this manner he so increased the power of the crown, that when a quarrel arose between the people of Burgundy and Lorraine, states almost independent of the king, they appealed to St Louis for justice. When Henry III. was at war with his barons, headed by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, a son of that same De Montfort who persecuted the Albigenses, both parties submitted their cause to his arbitration. Instead of seizing the opportunity as  
A. D. 1264. } a favourable one for invading the distracted country,



he heard the claims of both sides with great attention and patience, and in the end summoned a meeting of the French estates at Amiens, where the King of England and De Montfort's son were present. His award was favourable to the royal prerogative, and it could not be expected to be otherwise, for he was occupied in strengthening and enlarging it in France. But he recommended merciful measures, and a pardon for all past violence. Awards, however, are not easily enforced against an enraged people with arms in their hands, and De Montfort and his party repudiated the decision.

Louis endeavoured to be no less just and considerate among his own subjects. He was accessible to them when they had any complaints to lay before him, and took means to redress them. The annalists of his reign record many anecdotes of his acuteness and fairness in these questions; but it must be remembered that this is a practice which few monarchs can pursue without danger to more important business. It has been already said that Louis was strongly imbued with religious feeling; though with all his virtues he showed no toleration towards those who did not belong to the Roman-catholic church. He supported the persecution of the Albigenses, which was nearly completed before he attained to manhood, and his crusades were conducted on the principle of establishing Christianity by the sword; while many heretics were burned to death during his reign. He ordered the lips of a citizen, whom he heard blaspheming, to be pierced with a red-hot iron; and when the mob assailed him for his cruelty, he would not punish *them*, saying that they only injured himself, and *he* might forgive his own wrongs. In a conference held in the great abbey of Cluny, between the monks and certain Jews, an old and lame but very impatient knight put some questions to the rabbi concerning some the most defective points in the Jewish faith. As the rabbi's answers were not deemed satisfactory by the irascible knight, he smote him to the ground with his crutch, upon which the Jews took to flight. The Abbot of Cluny, whose power was nearly equal to that of royalty, scandalized by this rudeness, told the knight he was guilty of great folly; but the king vindicated him, saying that it was more foolish in the abbot

to allow an opportunity for the statement of such opinions, and that if the worthy knight had not speedily put an end to the discussion, the faith of many good Christians might have been subverted. He said at the same time, that there ought to be no disputing with unbelievers, and that any man who heard such a person, instead of endeavouring to answer his arguments, which perhaps he might not be able to do, should at once strike him dead with his sword. This doctrine was in that age held to be noble, enlightened, and virtuous; and the world was slow to learn that truth requires no such support.

3. It should not be forgotten that this king was a great legislator—the greatest perhaps that had ruled in France since the days of Charlemagne. Before his departure on the seventh crusade, he promulgated a sort of code called the *Etablissements* of St Louis. It made a distinction in punishments, in some respects corresponding with the enormity of the offence; murder and other atrocious crimes being punishable with death, while imprisonment and penalties of a lighter kind were awarded for secondary offences. There were two parties always ready in that rude age to seize on the possessions of a person who had died—the nobles and the ecclesiastics. If he had not left a will, or had made an insufficient one, the feudal lord declared the estate to be forfeited, or the church claimed it as dedicated to the service of religion. This evil was in a great measure corrected by St Louis. He endeavoured to suppress beggars and idle vagabonds. But there was a class of men professing to live on charity, the religious mendicant orders, who were too strong to be checked by him. He had a conflict with the university of Paris, which shook the peace of the whole community. That haughty seat of learning already possessed extensive privileges and great wealth, and is said to have counted twenty thousand students—a number quite sufficient to make a formidable army; and which indeed sometimes kept all Paris in fear and trembling. Few bodies could cope with their power and pride so well as the Mendicants, who, although the principle of their existence was humility and poverty, had become haughty and powerful. Some of them obtained chairs in the university, where they were opposed by the eminent doctors of

that institution. The conflict was long and fierce, but the Mendicants, who repudiated every jurisdiction except that of the pope, were supported by Alexander III., to whose authority the university was obliged to yield.

**THE LAST CRUSADE.**—Louis was an old man, feeble, and bowed down by the cares of government, when news came from the east of an invasion of Palestine by the Soldan of Egypt, of the taking of Antioch, and the slaughter of 100,000 Christians. These events roused the dormant fire of enthusiasm, and in the forty-fifth year of his reign, he } embarked with his three sons and a gallant army, to } lead the seventh and last crusade. His first intention was to proceed to Palestine or Egypt; but to the astonishment of his followers he directed his course to Tunis. It appears that he expected the king of that city to receive him cordially and become a convert; but he had made a mistake like that committed by his countrymen when they approached Rome in 1849, for the king proved hostile. The French landed and seized the ruins of ancient Carthage; but the troops were soon thinned by pestilence and famine, and lay in multitudes unburied on the sand, where the burning sun speedily decomposing their bodies, daily increased the pestilential atmosphere. Louis was at length seized with mortal illness; twenty-two days he lay on his deathbed patient and pious; and when the last hour approached, he insisted on being placed on ashes, and died repeating the words of the Psalmist: "I will come into thy house, and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple." He was afterwards canonized for his piety and virtues as a saint of the Roman-catholic church—a spiritual honour conferred on very few kings.

} **A. D. 1277-1285.** 4. **PHILIP THE HARDY**, the son and successor of St Louis, brought back from that melancholy crusade five coffins containing the bodies of his father, his younger brother, his sister Isabella and her husband, and his own wife. These were deposited in the abbey church of St Denis, where the members of the royal houses of France lay for centuries undisturbed until the day of the execution of Marie Antoinette. The policy of his father had greatly extended the authority of the crown, and even the mortality in the royal family during the last crusade increased the

dominions of the young king. By the death of his brother, the small state of the Valois, in the centre of France, reverted to him. His uncle Alphonse dying the next year bequeathed to him a wider southern territory, including Poitiers, Auvergne, and Toulouse. He became guardian of the young Queen of Navarre, who fled to his court, and was there married to his son. This territory was close to Aragon, the most northerly of the Spanish kingdoms; and the King of Aragon, who was a competitor for the hand of the young Queen of Navarre, felt mortified, both as a lover and a monarch, when she and her kingdom were united to his rival on the other side of the Pyrenees. We shall presently observe how this king retaliated. The territory of Anjou was one of those provinces which had come to the throne of France, its heirs having succeeded to the higher destiny of being kings of England. It had been given as a portion to Charles the brother of St Louis, who inheriting by his wife the county of Provence, thus became lord of a large portion of the south of France, and one of the princes whose power bade fair to rival that of the king himself. In a competition for the throne of Sicily and Naples, the pope gave him the preference; and it was then that he showed the haughty and tyrannical spirit which distinguished his house.

SICILIAN VESPERS.—Upon the death of the Emperor Frederic II. in 1250, his son Conrad succeeded to the imperial throne. His brief reign was terminated by poison, administered by his half-brother Manfred, who immediately seized upon the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. This kingdom was a fief of the holy see, which the princes of the Swabian family had usurped, notwithstanding the papal excommunications; and Urban IV. now offered it to St Louis, by whom it was refused. But his brother Charles of Anjou, count of Provence, was unwilling to let slip so favourable an opportunity of winning a crown, and, raising a strong army of Frenchmen and Provençaux, he invaded Italy, and defeated Manfred, who perished in battle. The new King of Naples soon displeased his subjects by his tyrannical proceedings, and by his exactions; and at length the youthful Conradin, the sole survivor of the Swabian house, eager to recover his father's throne, listened to the cries of the

oppressed Sicilians, and marched against the Angevine king. Success at first attended his banners; but at length his army was routed, and he himself fell into the hands of the conqueror, by whom he was beheaded as a rebel and traitor. This cruel deed only served to render the French rule still more unpopular in the country, and many of the Sicilian aristocracy sought refuge at the court of Peter of Aragon, meditating plans of revenge, which that prince was ready enough to encourage. The most illustrious of these exiles were Roger Loria, Conrad Lancia, and John of Procida, men of exalted rank and eminent talents, by whom a plan for the invasion of Sicily was projected, and all was ripe for action, when a trifling circumstance caused a revolt, which terminated in the expulsion of the French dynasty.

In the afternoon of Easter Tuesday (31st March 1282), as a Sicilian lady, of high rank and rare beauty, was going to hear vespers in a small church about half a mile from the city of Palermo, she was grossly insulted by a Frenchman named Drouet. A crowd soon collected at the shrieks of the outraged lady, and a cry being raised of "Death to the French," Drouet was disarmed, and killed with his own sword. This was the signal of a general revolt: the flame spread like fire upon the dry grass. Throughout the island, the French were put to death without distinction of age or sex, and as many as 20,000 persons—a number doubtless greatly exaggerated—are said to have perished. This massacre, often compared with that of St Bartholomew, or with the assassinations in the prisons during the French Revolution (2d September 1792), has become memorable in history by the name of the *Sicilian Vespers*. Its consequences were the loss of Sicily, which was transferred from Charles of Anjou to his rival Peter of Aragon. Philip III. thought his honour concerned in supporting the Angevine  
A.D. } dynasty at Naples, and a war ensued between France  
1285. } and Spain, which ceased of itself on the death of the French king.

5. PHILIP THE FAIR.—His successor was Philip the Fair, who had the reputation of being treacherous, cunning, and  
A.D. } cruel. His chief contemporary, during his reign  
1285-1314. } of twenty-nine years, was the ambitious Edward I.

of England; and it has been thought singular that this monarch did not make the French king feel the weight of his conquering sword. Philip indeed had his eye on Edward's continental territories, and adopted the plan which seems to have been much in favour with the monarchs who had others holding provinces of them—he summoned Edward, as duke of Aquitaine, to appear at Paris and answer for certain offences that had been committed by some English sailors at Bayonne. Edward did not obey the summons in person, and as he saw clearly that the French king was working silently to get possession of his continental dominions, he reluctantly went to war, but did not prosecute it with his usual vigour; and Philip continued to retain these territories for a time. In fact, Edward was too sagacious a man to care for distant acquisitions. He preferred a solid kingdom near at home, uniform, compact, and divided by the sea from the rest of the world. Wales had already become indissolubly united to England, and if he could have obtained a firm footing in Scotland, it would not have deeply concerned him that the French king had Guienne.

**FLEMISH WAR.**—Philip looked with the same avaricious eyes on Flanders. He had seized the daughter of the count of that province when she visited France on his invitation, and her father renounced his allegiance. It was very easy to confiscate the count's estates; but when Philip oppressed the people with taxation and partial laws, the sturdy burgesses of the Flemish towns, who were already growing comfortable and independent through their industry and energy, resisted him, and he was under the necessity of relinquishing what he thought so secure. The king's commander, the Count d'Artois, and his knightly followers, who considered the Flemings as mere boors, paid dearly for their folly by being defeated with great slaughter A.D. 1302. in the battle of Courtray—the usual fate, as we shall find in other cases, of those who despise a simple and industrious people struggling for their independence. Philip himself went forth to fight against those weavers and curriers, but with no better success. When beaten they returned again to the charge in still greater numbers, and the exasperated king cried out in his bitterness, “Is there

to be no end of them?—'faith, I believe it rains Flemings.'  
 A.D. 1304. In the end he was obliged to resign nearly the whole  
 of the territory he had seized, retaining only the strong  
 cities of Lille and Douai.

6. QUARREL WITH THE CHURCH.—Philip had a fierce controversy with Pope Boniface the Eighth, whose spiritual ambition and abilities rendered him a dangerous opponent. But he and the crafty king were well matched. Though France has been looked on as the stay of Roman-catholicism, and was called the eldest son of the church, yet the papacy has suffered many severe shocks from the French, and it was rudely handled on this occasion. Philip, among his many unpopular taxations, levied a rate on the clergy, whom the pope by a bull forbade being taxed by laymen, whether kings or subjects. France was not specially referred to on the occasion, but Philip knew that the bull was directed against himself. By way of retaliation, he prohibited money and other valuables from being taken out of the country, and though he made no special mention of the matter, this was known to be aimed against part of the revenue of the see of Rome. A lull took place for a time. The pope wanting money was condescending until he obtained it, and took the opportunity to compliment France by canonizing St Louis. But the dispute was renewed by his creating a new bishopric in France without Philip's consent, and sending the first person whom he raised to it, Bernard de Soisset, as his legate to the king. This prelate, proud as his master, bearded the monarch to his face, and in the heat of debate threatened him with excommunication. The bishop was then accused of crimes, and penal proceedings were raised against him. The pope became furious, launching forth bulls, and maintaining that temporal magistrates had no power whatever over churchmen—that the clergy were not bound to pay any taxes but those authorized by ecclesiastical authority—nay, farther, that all temporal princes held their authority from the pope, who could create and destroy kingdoms at his will. Philip afterwards assembled a meeting of the states-general. There was a struggle between the two for the adherence of the clergy of France, and some of them attended this meeting, while others went to Rome. Treating his

assembly as a council, the king's advocate charged Boniface with crimes, and proposed his deposition. Boniface in his turn excommunicated the king, and offered his territory to Albert of Austria, then holding the title of King of the Romans. These proceedings might appear to be mere empty threats, which neither party could execute, but the King of France managed very nearly to put his denunciation of the pope in actual execution against him. We are apt, at the present day, to believe that all good Roman-catholics treated the person of the pope with the greatest reverence, but it was in reality far otherwise; and the monarch who had the power to do so never hesitated to seize and maltreat a pope, if he were at enmity with him, or expected advantage from insulting him. A band of bold conspirators was empowered to seize Boniface, whom they found at his country mansion in Anagni. This was the pope's native place, and the peasantry rescued him, but not until he had suffered many indignities, and narrowly escaped assassination.

Boniface died a month after these events, and it was said that the misery and humiliation he endured shortened his days. His successor had but a brief reign, and was believed to have been poisoned. There then came an election which was keenly contested, for the King of France took a active part in the question; maintaining that, notwithstanding all that he had done against the pope, he had a high respect for the holy see, and only desired that unworthy individuals, such as he held Boniface to be, should be kept from occupying it. It was of infinite consequence that a person who would agree to adopt his cause should be placed at the head of the church, because then his former conduct might be approved of without his continuing a quarrel in which he might be beaten. For this purpose he gave his whole influence, which was great, to Bertrand de Goth, archbishop of Bordeaux, one of the competitors, who engaged to aid his views, and was made pope, A.D. 1305. with the title of Clement V. Listening to the entreaties of the French king, he transferred his court to Avignon, which remained attached to the papal dominions until the breaking out of the first revolution.

7. THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.—Philip's anxiety to have



the pope within his own dominions is supposed to have been connected with another great enterprise of his reign—the extermination of the Knights Templars. This celebrated religious and military order came into existence during the Crusades, and derived their name from the house they originally inhabited near the site of the Temple of Jerusalem. They were united by a vow to protect pilgrims travelling to the holy land; their numbers were small, and their rule of life was poverty, humility, and abstinence from worldly pleasures. But as the institution became popular, they grew in numbers and in strength, and, like many other associations, beginning with the most moderate intentions while they were poor and obscure, they became haughty and luxurious as their wealth and numbers increased. They were governed by a grand master, who, though elected by the knights, was a person possessed of more power and influence than many sovereigns, for he was at the head of a large body of nobles, while many of the smaller princes were only the rulers of poor husbandmen. They were spread through almost all the European nations and a considerable part of Western Asia. Each country where they had settlements was called a province, and in each of them its knights were under the orders of a grand prior or grand preceptor. The Knights Templars, though five centuries have passed away since they were ruined, have left behind them many traces of their grandeur. In the most distant and secluded parts of Europe the traveller sometimes finds an old church or castle, or even a parish, bearing a name connected with their order. The fine old church of the Temple in London, lately restored, and the site of the prison of the Temple in Paris, where Louis the Sixteenth was confined, are among the possessions of this body which have retained their name.

To a king who was making every effort to increase his prerogatives, the existence of such a body within his territory must have been a cause of considerable jealousy. Clement V., in the year after he had been elected pope through  
 A. D. } the influence of the French king, induced the grand  
 1306. } master of the Temple, Jacques de Molay, to travel to Europe and reside for some time in France. In the following year, two persons who had been condemned to

death, and are supposed to have been degraded and expelled members of the order of the Temple, made accusations against the brethren of a multitude of crimes. Many of these involved the most odious vices, some consisted of the most ridiculous charges, believed only in rude states of society, such as sorcery and witchcraft, and others respected A. D. } heresy and irreligion. On the twelfth day of Sep-  
1307. } tember, the king issued sealed letters to the governors of the principal towns, with directions that they should arm their retainers, and be in readiness to execute the letters, which they were to open on that day month. By the instructions thus conveyed, the Templars throughout France were seized in one day, and their immense property was at the same time taken possession of. They were subjected to horrible tortures by instruments, and by being placed with their bare feet towards fires until the flesh dropped from the soles. While they were suffering under these horrors, many confessions of a marvellous description were extorted from them; but the object of the king was so obviously directed to their ruin and plunder, and their confessions given under excruciating agony were often so preposterous, that it is impossible now to ascertain how far they may have been really criminal. It was not, however, until the year 1314 that the grand master was found guilty and condemned. He was burned on one of the small islands of the Seine, near the Pont Neuf. The king did not long enjoy the fruits of his cruelty and rapacity, for he died by a fall from his horse within a year afterwards.

8. THE STATES-GENERAL.—During his contest with the pope, Philip the Fair, desirous of winning the support of his people, assembled a kind of national parliament, composed not only of temporal and spiritual lords, but also of deputies from the chief towns. These *states of the kingdom*, or *states-general*, as they are usually called, met for the first time on the 10th April 1302, in the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, where they espoused the king's side, and declared his cause just. Such a beginning of a constitutional parliament, superior to what we can find in England at the same time, is a proof that the freedom of a nation depends not upon mere forms, but upon the character of the people. Had France possessed, like England, a large

class of free yeomen and independent burgesses, yearly increasing in wealth and importance by their industry, there might have been a parliament gradually advancing in freedom from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century; but the bulk of the people were little better than the humblest slaves trampled on by an insolent aristocracy, and they felt that to them all forms of government were alike unproductive of good.

In the days of the Carlovingian kings there was an annual assembly, called the Champ de Mars, and afterwards the Champ de Mai, from its meeting, at one time, in the month of March and at another in May, but it had little in common with a modern parliament. The body assembled by Philip in the old church of Notre Dame was, however, as much a representative assembly as that convoked at Westminster by Edward. Sismondi remarks that scarcely any of the old historians bestow the least notice on a matter which might have been so important to the nation; but it may also be observed, that our early parliaments have been similarly neglected, because their contemporaries could not foresee their future greatness.

#### EXERCISES.

1. Describe the character of St Louis? What wisdom was there in his forbearance and generosity? How did he behave towards Henry III. of England? What restorations did he meditate? How was it that sovereigns could thus treat their territories like private property?

2. What influence had the conduct of Louis on the power of the crown? In what great question as to the government of England did he arbitrate? How did he behave to his own subjects? What were his notions regarding religious liberty and toleration? Mention examples of his bigotry.

3. What code of laws did Louis promulgate? What were the evils which he thus sought to remedy? How did he act towards the Mendicants? What was the nature and power of the University of Paris in his reign? What events produced the last crusade? What were its results?

4. What melancholy circumstances attended the accession of Philip the Hardy? Mention some of the sources through which he succeeded to an increased extent of dominion. What events exasperated the King of Aragon? Give an account of the tragedy called the Sicilian Vespers.

5. What character has been attributed to Philip the Fair? What was his conduct towards Edward of England? What was the policy of Edward as to increase of dominion? How did Philip treat the Flemings? How was he punished for his presumption?

6. How did the dispute with the church begin? How was it carried on? What mutual denunciations did the two parties issue? How did the king get his own made effective? What induced the king to take

a leading part in the election of a pope? What change was made as to the papal residence? What is supposed to have influenced the king to wish to have the pope near him?

7. How did the institution of the Knights Templars begin? Describe their growth and progress. What memorials have they left? How did they materially affect the king's power? What measures were adopted for their destruction?

8. Mention a celebrated meeting of the states-general. What other assemblages were there? What prevented the states-general from becoming an independent legislature like the parliament of England? How did contemporary historians treat them both?

## CHAPTER VI.

### FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS X. TO THE DEATH OF JOHN, A. D. 1315—1364.

Progress of Monarchical Power—The Salic Law and the Pretensions of England—The Invasion—Battle of Crecy—Capture of Calais—Pestilence—Poitiers—The Jacquerie.

1. THE new king, Louis X., surnamed Hutin, the perverse or the querulous, was hardly twenty-five years old when he ascended the throne. He had married the notorious Margaret of Burgundy, who for her incontinence was shut up in the strong fortress of Château-Gaillard. As her life was an obstacle to the king's wishes, she is reported to have been strangled with a napkin, upon which Louis married Clemence of Hungary. During the reign of his successor, Philip V. the Long, the centre and south of France were disturbed by the revolt of the *pastoureaux*. They reappear at several periods of French history, but on this occasion the Jews seem to have been the especial objects of their vengeance, for they were killed without mercy wherever they could be found. Such revolts, supported by immense masses of peasants and poor people, were fearful symptoms of public wretchedness. This serf-war may remind us of the slave-wars of Roman history. The social organization appears to have been too imperfect to supply room and food for every individual. The moral world was not sound, and society was unable to remedy the disorders arising from the necessarily unequal division of

labour and enjoyment. Nor did the rulers seek by any means to remove the causes of these revolts, but in many cases turned them to their own advantage. At this time, the Jews and lepers were accused of being the tools of the Mahometan princes, against whom Philip was preparing a crusade, and of poisoning the springs to destroy the king and his army. It is certain that a frightful epidemic ravaged France, and particularly Aquitaine, and that this was the signal for a general attack upon the Jews and lepers, many of whom were condemned to be burnt alive. When we think of the excesses committed by the populace in Paris and St Petersburg during the first visitation of cholera, we can excuse the misguided ignorance of the French peasantry in the fourteenth century.

A. D. } The reign of Charles IV. the Fair presents  
1322-1328. } but one fact worthy of notice—the vassals of the crown were required to attend the coronation, a circumstance connected with the growth of the royal prerogative.

It is a striking feature in the history of France, that the king was perpetually gaining power, insomuch that while at one time, as we have already seen, he had little more authority than the great barons who were his chief vassals, in the end he became absolute, and though the nobles could oppress their serfs with impunity, they could not safely resist their sovereign. One means by which this was accomplished was by increasing the authority of the law, and the power of the lawyers who administered it. This made considerable progress under the cunning Philip the Fair, though he found the system already much advanced by his wise predecessor St Louis. The names of legal offices and legal processes began to make a frequent appearance in his reign and those of his two successors. The parliament of Paris, which had existed for some time as a sort of court or council of the nobility, who met to give the king advice in administering justice, was, in the reign of Philip the Fair, made stationary at Paris, instead of following the king. Lawyers were at first admitted only to give advice. The vast stores of knowledge in the books of the Roman law were then beginning to attract attention. The educated lawyers studied them, and applied them to practical purposes. The

nobles, fonder of feudal war or the sports of the field, did not care to rival them in study, and thus the business of the parliament as well as of other courts gradually passed into the hands of professional men. In the reign of Philip the Long, the parliament became a fixed court, in which the business was entirely transacted by professional lawyers. From that time there arose a kind of secondary aristocracy in France, entitled the Gentlemen of the Robe. It was singular enough that this, as well as the other called the Aristocracy of the Sword, was in a great measure hereditary, and that families were holders of legal offices from father to son for many generations. The increase of the authority of the law, while it tended to the furtherance of justice, increased the power of the crown, since the barons found it necessary to comply with the forms of the law, as laid down by official persons chosen principally by the king.

As the influence of the crown increased, the nobility drew round the court in place of dwelling on their own estates, and thus became courtiers, instead of independent barons living a rude life among their adherents. Hence it unfortunately arose that they visited their estates merely to extort and tyrannize; and their vassals knew them as masters only, not as leaders. There was little sympathy between these two classes, and the chiefs discovered, when they led out their followers to war, that they did not go with the old spirit and courage of men who had an interest in the contest. A long time elapsed ere these social changes were completely effected; but we shall find that they had gone so far as materially to injure the power of France in her wars with England.

2. THE PRETENSIONS OF EDWARD III.—The death of Charles the Fair and the accession of his successor Philip the Sixth, were the source of the most important events in the history of France, and even in that of England, for centuries afterwards. Charles had no son; but he left one daughter, and another was born immediately after his death. Instead of one of these succeeding as queen, which would have been the case in England or Scotland, at all events in later times, they were both passed over, and a distant male connexion of their father, Philip of Valois,

the son of a younger son of Philip the Hardy, was declared entitled to the throne.

This was owing to a peculiar rule of succession, called the Salic Law. Its origin is involved in great mystery, and has caused much discussion. The salic laws are a code written in Latin; and it was supposed that they could be traced back to the year 420; but it has been proved that they must have been compiled after the accession of Clovis. They contain about 400 separate articles, with regulations as to crimes, civil rights, and other ordinary branches of the law. Among these, there is a rule that no female shall succeed to the kind of land called Salic or Lod. The whole of this code has the appearance of belonging to one of the German tribes of France, and most probably to the Franks, who were also called Saliens. The salic land is supposed to have included the territories conquered by these people; and the exclusion of women from the succession, which was a very common arrangement in early times, arose probably from the necessity that the districts should be held by owners capable of defending them with the sword. It has been said that this law was intended only to apply to private estates, not to the succession to the crown; but however that may be, it is certain that no female reigned in France from the time of Clovis downwards; while, on the other hand, no opportunity seems to have occurred for trying the claim of a daughter until the death of Louis Hutin. Though he left one, his brother succeeded to the throne; not however without opposition, for he appears, in reality, to have consented to hold it merely as governor until the princess was of age, when she might either resign or urge her title. Perhaps, therefore, it was more by the strong hand than by the regular law that her uncle kept possession of the crown. Then, on the death of this uncle, Philip the Long, the example was followed—his three daughters were passed over, and his brother Charles succeeded.

It has been already said that when Charles died he left a daughter who was passed over for a more distant male relative. There was no resistance on her part; but a far more formidable competitor appeared in the person of Edward III. of England, who, though he had not so good a title as the princess, had far better means of enforcing it.

His claim was this, that his mother was the sister of the late king. Of course if the salic law excluded a daughter, much more would it exclude a sister. But Edward maintained that the disqualification only applied to females themselves, not to their descendants, and though his mother could not have succeeded, the same reason that excluded her could not apply to him. From this time it was the main object of life with Edward to find an opportunity of invading the country.

3. We shall now see the bad effects of the feudal system in exposing France to the attacks of the English kings. England was a united power under one government, where the aristocracy possessed doubtless great strength and influence collectively, but none of them could set himself up as king of a province, and make common cause with an invader. But the dukes and counts of various provinces under the French crown were sometimes as ready to connect themselves with the King of England as with their own sovereign. When Duke John III. of Brittany died, the succession was claimed by his younger brother, while the King of France took the part of his niece. He was one of that great Montfort family who have played so important a part in history. "It was a Montfort," says a French historian, "who advised Louis the Fat to arm the French communes. It was a Montfort who led the crusade against the Albigenses, and destroyed the freedom of the southern cities. It was a Montfort who brought the representatives of the commons into the parliament of England." The competitor for the dukedom of Brittany appealed for aid to Edward the Third, and thus a Montfort was doing an act no less memorable in bringing the English into France. His opponent, Charles of Blois, was one of the most singular men of the age. He was a saint. He would perform distant pilgrimages barefooted over the snow, and flagellate and rack his body till he excited pity and horror. He was as merciless to others as to himself, and exterminated as rebels all the opponents who came in his power. The Countess of Montfort, who was said to have the courage of a man and the heart of a lion, defended her husband's fortifications until Edward joined her with an army. The King of France, who took the part of Charles, also approached with a large body of troops;



but the two monarchs were wise enough not to begin a general war about the succession to a province, and hostilities were postponed for a time.

In the meanwhile, it seemed as if Edward were to find an opening to France by another quarter. James Van Arteveld, the leader of the Flemish merchants and artisans, invited Edward to support his influence. It was agreed, in fact, that this king's son, afterwards the celebrated Black Prince, should become Count of Flanders. But the independent burgesses would not submit to be thus sold as they termed it to England, to aid the ambitious views of a fellow-citizen. Trade jealousies too arose among them, and Arteveld, from the height of authority, became first unpopular and then detested. At last he was murdered by the mob of Ghent, and with him died the influence of the English king in Flanders.

4. THE INVASION.—A baron of Normandy, Godfrey of Harcourt, had fallen into disgrace with the King of France, and would have been in imminent danger had he remained within his reach. He fled for safety to England, and there getting access to Edward, persuaded him that Normandy would be the proper quarter in which to establish a footing in France. He told him that the nobility were occupied in the Gascon wars—that the country had known peace so long that the people had little warlike spirit, but occupied themselves in industry and the arts of peace, and were becoming comfortable and wealthy. In those days an ambitious monarch could have no better reasons set before him for supplanting virtue, industry, and content, with the horrors and miseries of war. Edward yielded to the advice; and thus the province whence the conquerors of the Saxons issued was destined to let in the descendants of these conquerors and the conquered, to ravage and in the end subdue the great kingdom of France. Edward fitted out an armament, and pretending that it was destined for the war in Gascony, landed suddenly at La Hogue, the place where three hundred and fifty years afterwards the last chance of the Stuart dynasty was destroyed in a naval battle.

Accompanied by his Norman adviser, who headed one of the three divisions of his army, Edward plundered and

burned the rich and industrious cities and plentiful fields of Normandy, proceeding up the left bank of the Seine, while the King of France, with a much larger force, descended the right bank, breaking all the bridges, and so preventing the English from crossing the river. At Poissy, however, a town between eight and nine miles from Paris, Edward succeeded in crossing the Seine, whence he marched towards the Somme. Philip, by rapid movements, reached Amiens, on that river, before him, and sent troops along the right bank to destroy all the bridges and guard the fords. With the remainder of his army, he proceeded down the left bank so as to coop up the English between the river and the sea. Here, after some delay, they found a place where the water was so low as to be fordable at ebb tide, and the bottom was hard and chalky.

5. BATTLE OF CRECY.—The ford was defended, but not sufficiently to keep the English army from crossing; and as Edward could now choose his own ground, he resolved to give battle. His army consisted of about 2400 men-at-arms, with 27,000 bowmen and billmen, and with these he took up a strong position in the open forest of Crecy, ever memorable from the events that occurred before he left it. The King of France followed him with 8000 men-at-arms, and 60,000 miscellaneous troops, including 6000 Genoese cross-bowmen.

It may not be improper to take this opportunity of describing the method of fighting then in use. The men-at-arms (*gens d'armes*) mounted on horseback, generally consisting of knights, or those who hoped to be knighted, were looked on as by far the most valuable portion of the army, so much so that each one of them was thought worth from five to ten of the other soldiers. They wore armour, the earliest species of which was made of small iron rings linked into each other, like a steel purse, and was quite flexible. Such was the sort of armour worn by the Northmen who invaded the various European countries. It was a sufficient protection from light weapons, but not against the heavy lances and huge battle-axes which began to be used. The plate mail was afterwards adopted. The idea of it may have been taken from the coverings of shell fish, for nothing more closely resembles plate armour than the shell of the lobster. At

the joints of the limbs, and wherever the body required to be bent, the iron was laid on leather in narrow scales, but elsewhere it was a continuous surface of metal. If his horse were slain, the warrior was generally at the mercy of his enemies, and hence his charger was often covered to a certain extent with iron. Thus equipped the horse and his rider were like a ponderous mass set in motion, which crushed all it came against, until it met a body like itself, in the person of another mounted man-at-arms. A few of these mailed warriors would thus make terrible havoc in riding through the ranks of bowmen, or mere peasants with nothing but their swords. Their fitting out was so costly, however, that they were comparatively few in number. Indeed each knight required about five attendants on his own proper person, and a considerable army might not have more than a few hundred men-at-arms in its ranks.

The strength of the English armies often consisted not so much in the number and valour of the men-at-arms, as in the spirit and resolution of the foot soldiers,—a portion of whom fought with long bows and arrows, with which they took a sure and deadly aim, while the rest used bills, or iron blades attached to long wooden handles. Here the difference of the political constitutions of the two countries was apparent, for the English bowmen and billmen were strong and well fed, and had the spirit and nerve of those who are not depressed by tyranny, but have something in the world worth fighting for. The poor dispirited peasantry of France, on the other hand, cared little whether the King of France or of England were at the head of the state, since the same feudal law would still oppress them, and their leaders trusted not to their spirit and bravery, but to their passive obedience. Just before the battle of Crecy began, instances occurred to show the different consideration felt for the foot soldiers in the two armies. King Edward having taken up his position, bid each man repose himself, and distributed among the troops food and refreshing draughts of wine. The French foot soldiers were tired by a long march, and prudence as well as kindness would have suggested that they should be permitted to rest; but their haughty leaders were too impatient to annihilate at once the diminutive foe.

The first misfortune of the battle arose from the same source. Unable to trust to the swords of their miserable vassals, the French hired foreign mercenaries to serve in their army, who, though they might have both courage and military science, had not the same motives to exert them as the English archers and billmen. The 8000 Genoese cross-bowmen were ordered to advance. They hesitated, complaining that they were fatigued. "Slay the lazy ribalds," said the haughty Count of Alençon, and the mercenaries, thus threatened, reluctantly went forward. They were received by the English bowmen with a well-aimed flight of their long arrows. The Genoese, whose bow-strings were so injured by the rain that they would not work, immediately turned and fled; while the French men-at-arms, furious at their cowardice, trampled them down, and pressed forward, producing inextricable confusion. Wherever the French charged, they were met by the steady immovable bowmen; and it is curious that in this respect the first great battle between the two nations had a considerable resemblance to the last. At length night coming on, the vast host dispersed in confused flight, but a small portion only escaped, for on the field of battle and near it there lay the bodies of eleven sovereign princes, eighty bannerets, 1200 knights or smaller nobility, and 30,000 common men. So ended the great battle of Crecy, fought on the 26th of August 1346.

6. CALAIS.—Five days after the battle, Edward marched towards the strong town of Calais, about sixty miles from Crecy, which is now a village near the northern boundary of the department of the Somme. This strong place was so well garrisoned and provisioned, that Edward, seeing that the siege would be a work of time, stationed his army in a secure place, well intrenched, and built huts for his soldiers, making a sort of temporary city beyond the walls. The long blockade, which lasted nearly twelve months, was enlivened by many brilliant feats of arms.

The governor, John of Vienne, a stout knight of Burgundy, resolved to hold out to the last, and the English besiegers were as resolute as he; but the same chivalric principle enjoined on both sides, that while men fought with each other and took the chance of good or bad

success, the women and children should be spared. Accordingly, all the "useless mouths," as they were called, were sent out of Calais, and Edward to his honour allowed them to pass through his army in safety—nay, he carried the chivalrous spirit so far as to supply them with money. It was generally understood by such a garrison in those days, when they were entirely soldiers, that in holding out they took all risks, and that if the besieger had the advantage, they were to be slain. Before the garrison of Calais submitted they were subjected to a cruel disappointment. The King of France intended to relieve them by attacking the besiegers, and it is said, that for that purpose he brought with him an army amounting to the incredible number of two hundred thousand men. To account for the failure of this great force, it should be observed, that Calais was approachable by two roads only—one along the seashore, the other over marshes. The former was guarded by ships and boats crowded with archers; and the latter was protected by towers and fortified bridges, which Philip dared not attack. After an unsuccessful attempt at negotiation, the unfortunate garrison saw the army of their king depart without making any attempt to relieve them.

According to the usual accounts, the manner in which Edward obtained possession of the city of Calais was this. The King of England had at first insisted on his right to put all the garrison to death,—a right too often used at that barbarous period, and perhaps, also, too often in later times. A length, however, he required that six of the citizens should come to him with the keys of the city in their hands—that they should be bareheaded and barefooted in sign of humiliation to him as their conqueror,—and that they should have ropes round their necks, indicating the fate to which they were destined. It will easily be supposed that among the burgesses of Calais who might have been ready to hold the ordinary municipal offices of the city, few would be found disposed to represent it on such an occasion as this; and the more honour is therefore due to Eustace de St Pierre, who was the first to come forward and offer up his own life to save his fellow-townsmen from destruction. He found five others who consented to join him in his heroic expedition, and though they went

in their shirts, bareheaded and barefooted with the ropes about their necks with which they expected to be hanged, there never was a nobler spectacle in the world than that presented by these brave men. King Edward, however, was not softened by their heroism, nor perhaps is it natural that he should have been so, for the laws of war would have excused their execution. But a gentler and a not less heroic spirit was present in his queen Philippa. She had just made a journey to join him through considerable dangers, and she was in a condition which required a husband's kindest attention. She had also been an able governor in his absence, and had gained for him the great battle of Neville's Cross over the King of Scots. In such circumstances he could  
 4th Aug. } not well resist her request that the lives of the six  
 1347. } deputies should be spared. From the period of its capture by Edward, Calais was for more than two centuries an English town. The native inhabitants were removed from it, and English people succeeded them. Being near to the coast of Kent, it was easily approached from England, and the broad marshes rendered it so inaccessible on the land side, that it was perhaps more easily garrisoned by the King of England than by the King of France. Edward appointed a mercenary Italian to be its governor, whom Philip bribed to give up the city to a French army, but he was detected, and the troops who expected to take possession of the town and fortress were put to flight.

7. THE BLACK DEATH.—Foreign invasion was not the only calamity to which the French were subjected in the middle of the fourteenth century. The period became renowned all over Europe, but particularly in France, for the visitation of a terrible epidemic, which was called "the black death," owing to the dark spots which announced its presence. It first appeared in China, and after desolating Asia and Africa, entered Europe, slaying such multitudes that one-third of the inhabitants are calculated to have perished. People fled hither and thither, but could not escape the poisoned atmosphere, and when they did, they often died of famine. Physicians would not attend patients; priests refused to administer the religious rites; and relations fled from the dead bodies instead of giving

them decent burial. The city of Avignon, then the residence of the pope, suffered so much that it never recovered its former splendour. This terrible pestilence was the occasion of Boccaccio's *Decameron*; and among its victims was that Laura whom Petrarch has immortalized in his Sonnets. It was followed by a mental disease nearly as frightful, called "the dancing mania," those who were afflicted with it jumping about with violent and almost supernatural gestures.

JOHN, called the Good, ascended the throne in 1350. He received his name not from his virtues, but from a liberal and careless disposition, which involved him in extravagances and follies, for which his people were severe sufferers. Yet so popular are these qualities among the rude and unenlightened, that they approve of them even when exercised at their own expense. He was soon at feud with his kinsman the King of Navarre—a bold and bad man, who was guilty of many crimes for which it was sought to make him answerable to his liege lord the King of France. He put the monarch at defiance, however, and this serious feud weakened the state so much that the King of England began to watch an opportunity for a new invasion. This was soon found, for the French feudal lords and the garrisons of the towns could not be brought to keep the truce with England inviolate. Terms were arranged for a treaty, by which Edward was to possess Aquitaine and some smaller territories, and resign entirely his claim to the sovereignty of France; but it was defeated by the thoughtless caprice of King John, and the truce came to an end. The Prince of Wales was sent with an army to the south-eastern provinces, where he committed dreadful ravages among the poor peasants and the burgesses of the small towns; for the laws of chivalry restricted all courtesy and liberality to knights and those of gentle blood, the peasantry or churls never being deemed worthy of any consideration in warfare.

8. BATTLE OF POITIERS.—In this pressing danger, the King of France summoned his nobles to gather round him in a body, assemble their vassals, and with a formidable force exterminate the invaders. Thus, at the head of a gigantic army he marched to attack the Black Prince, who, on his

D

part, wisely determined to retire. After some blunders and confusion, the French monarch succeeded in taking up a position which completely cut off the retreat of the English. The two armies were vastly disproportioned, the prince having only about 2000 men-at-arms, and an army in all of 10,000 men; while in the French host there were 20,000 men-at-arms, and they altogether exceeded 50,000 men. The English troops took up their position in a sort of natural fortification approachable only by one road, along which but four horses could ride abreast, and there they waited what seemed to be certain destruction. They would very readily have acceded to honourable terms, and Cardinal Talleyrand, seeing how strongly Edward was posted, and how well he had arranged his little force, advised the king to make reasonable proposals. He would, however, agree to nothing but the unconditional surrender of the whole army as prisoners, and to that the prince was determined not to submit. On the 16th. September 1356, the French began the combat, ever memorable from its title, the Battle of Poitiers, by charging heedlessly up the hollow road. Its head was defended by men-at-arms, and it was lined with archers hidden behind the hedges, who by pouring in volleys of arrows created confusion in the assailants, and impeded their movements by heaps of slain. A mass of these formidable archers coming forth from their ambush, this division of the French army took to flight. The men-at-arms now advanced, and a general attack was made on the second division. This body had charge of the three young princes of France, and they made the preservation of these youths an excuse for immediate flight. The attack was now directed to the third division commanded by the king himself. He fought bravely, and stood alone in the midst of his slain knights, when, finding resistance useless, he agreed to submit. A scene of ludicrous selfishness contrasted with the glories of this day. It was well known that the sword of a king would be a handsome fortune to any one, on account of the large share he would receive of the ransom-money; and the English knights crowded round the ruined monarch, each claiming to be his captor, and all fighting about him in such confusion and violence, that the poor king was nearly slain by their efforts to preserve him



and injure each other. The Black Prince has received great praise for the magnanimity with which he treated his captive, setting him down to a rich banquet, while he kept at a distance as not worthy to take his place at the same table with so great a monarch. Similar distinctions were shown in bringing him through London; but in reality there was a very prudent policy in all this. In the person of the king it appeared as if France as a kingdom were seized, and the English were therefore anxious to treat him as the undoubted king, lest some other person should get possession of the throne.

The middle classes of France acted on this occasion with spirit, and made a near approach to the establishment of a constitutional government. Paris, first built on an island, had now extended to both banks of the river, and, being very populous, was obtaining that preponderance over the rest of the kingdom which it has so long retained. Thither an assembly was convoked by the dauphin, as lieutenant-general of his father, and as the nobility were nearly all captive or slain, it consisted chiefly of the middle orders. The Bishop of Laon, and Stephen Marcel provost or mayor of the merchants, were the leading members of this body, who complained of the enormous taxation and lavish expenditure, for which the country had obtained no equivalent, and in presence of the dauphin passed some bold resolutions for the suppression of abuses, without doing anything to relieve the disastrous state of the monarchy.

9. The dauphin made some important concessions; but the popular party, distrusting his promises, proposed to confer the crown on the King of Navarre, who had not yet earned the unenviable title of Charles the Bad. He was grandson of Louis Hutin, and it was thought probable that the union of the two crowns on one head would give France sufficient strength to resist the victorious English. Charles was accordingly released from prison, and he entered Paris in a kind of triumph. By this movement, the nation was divided into two parties, the nobility and the rich remaining faithful to the regent, while the masses were in favour of the King of Navarre. The distinctive mark of this faction was a hood of red and blue, the colours of the city of Paris. When the dauphin made

a final attempt to throw off the yoke of Marcel, the fierce provost, followed by the insurgent populace, forced the doors of the palace and killed two of his superior officers before his eyes. The prince himself would have fallen a victim to their blind fury, if Marcel had not covered him with his own hood.

Just as the King of Navarre seemed secure of success, he had the impolicy (to use no stronger term) to solicit the support of England. This opened the eyes of all honour-  
A.D. } able men, and he was driven from Paris. Marcel,  
1358. } however, still remained in the capital, conspiring to bring this prince back; but as he was passing through the streets to open a gate by which Charles's partisans might enter, he was killed by a fellow-citizen, and his followers after some difficulty were compelled to submit. The nobles were now at liberty to turn their attention to a famous peasant-insurrection.

THE JACQUERIE.—At this period feudal tyranny had risen to its height in France. Chivalry had degenerated from its former high-minded professions, and even such a remnant of it as there was did not embrace the peasantry, over whom the power of their lords was as absolute as that of a master can ever be over a slave. Whatever the peasant made by his industry or prudence, the master took possession of on some pretext or other, and left him degraded and poor. He was whipped and imprisoned at pleasure, and a variety of ingenious torments were invented and employed to make him comply with the most exorbitant and severe exactions. He could not flee from his misery, for he was bound to remain on the territory, and if he attempted to escape, the other feudal lords, making common cause with his master, arrested him at the bridges and toll-houses which he had to pass. Though many of the nobles were taken captive in the English war, the poor serfs were the principal sufferers, for while the former were treated with knightly courtesy and hospitality, the latter were compelled to pay heavy ransoms for the liberty of their superiors. Not content with thus stripping their own dependents, many of the nobles headed robber-bands, with whom they roamed over the country, plundering its defenceless inhabitants, who in their terror were frequently

reduced to the necessity of hiding themselves in caves and forests.

At length, stung to madness, the oppressed peasantry rose simultaneously through the greater part of the kingdom, arming themselves with scythes, pitchforks, and other implements of husbandry. This rising was called the *Jacquerie*, from the term of *Jacques Bonhomme*, or James Goodfellow, bestowed on the simple and submissive peasantry of France, as John Bull is given to the English. When slaves rise against their masters, they are always cruel and ruffianly. The *Jacquerie* everywhere attacked the nobility, and committed frightful cruelties on all they overcame, sparing neither women nor children. They imitated or exceeded the cruelties of their oppressors, and it is scarcely possible to believe the stories told on both sides. Thus, it is reported that a feudal lord having returned from hunting, feeling his feet cold, had a serf killed, and the body ripped up that he might warm his feet in the reeking flesh. The peasants in their turn are said to have roasted a feudal baron, and compelled his wife and children to partake of his carcass. They laid waste the whole country, murdering not only the nobles, but every one of whatever station who refused to join them. Two hundred castles were burnt and their inhabitants massacred.

10. Many of the princesses and ladies of rank had taken refuge in the town of Meaux; and thither the peasantry flocked, howling round the walls like wolves for their prey, while the rabble of the city were about to admit them. The situation of the ladies was critical in the extreme, when two knights, the Count of Foix and the Captal or Lord of Buche, came to their assistance in the old chivalrous fashion. They were enemies in public, for the one was a thorough Frenchman, and the other a retainer of the English; but yet they became colleagues in the work of rescue, and with their well-armed followers dispersed the rabble, and slew them in multitudes. This was the turning of the tide. The nobles, most of whom had returned from their captivity, took heart and united against the insurgents. Then came a retribution as terrible as the outbreak, for they did not condescend to distinguish the guilty from the innocent, but with their ruthless followers slew

the swinish churls, as they were called, wherever they appeared. A country in a more miserable condition than France at this period cannot easily be conceived.

Meanwhile King John, who at first replied to Edward's proposal by saying, "I would rather die than return dishonoured to my kingdom," finding himself neglected and forgotten, thought it necessary to treat for himself, and it was agreed that he should yield a portion of territory, including Gascony and Aquitaine, and should pay no less than four millions of gold crowns as ransom money. But for so large a sum of money, which the nation would have to pay, some better guarantee was naturally required than the king's word. The states-general, however, when appealed to would not ratify the treaty.

In the autumn of the year 1359, Edward assembled his forces in Calais, avowedly for the conquest of France. His fame as a leader had brought thither bands of adventurers from different parts of the continent, all eager to enter his service. But he had with him six thousand men-at-arms highly disciplined and in complete mail, who with their followers made up an army larger than some of those which had gained signal victories. He therefore preferred trusting these tried soldiers to wasting his money on fickle adventurers, and with some difficulty got rid of the troublesome applicants. He then commenced his march, and laid siege to the ancient city of Rheims, but without success. As he proceeded thence towards Paris, overtures of peace were made and rejected, until it is said that he was moved to accept of reasonable terms by a frightful thunderstorm, believing that he would otherwise fall under the judgment of heaven. By this treaty, which was signed at Bretigny, Edward acquired a great extension of territory in the south and west of France, but surrendered all his northern conquests, with the exception of Calais and Guines. The king's ransom was fixed at three millions of gold crowns, and the English monarch, on his part, agreed to abandon his claim to the throne of France. King John now returned to his dominions, but one of his sons having failed to fulfil a condition that they were to be hostages for the execution of the treaty, a spirit of honour prompted him to return to England, where he soon afterwards died in the old palace of the Savoy.

Petrarch has drawn a sad picture of the state of France in this year, when he visited Paris. "I could not believe," he says, "that this was the same kingdom which I had once seen so rich and flourishing. Nothing presented itself to my eyes but a fearful solitude, an extreme poverty, lands uncultivated, houses in ruins. Even the neighbourhood of Paris manifested everywhere marks of destruction and conflagration. The streets are deserted, the roads overgrown with weeds, and the whole is a vast solitude."

## EXERCISES.

1. What disturbances occurred in the reign of Louis? What is a general characteristic of the history of France? When did the great vassals of the crown first attend the coronation? Mention what is observable in the history of the power of the crown or monarchy in France. Give an account of the aristocracy of the robe.

2. What was the source of important events both to France and England? On what occasion were females passed over in the succession to the French throne? Give an account of the Salic Law and its effect on the succession to the crown. On what did Edward III. rest his claims?

3. Describe how the feudal system placed France in a different position from that of England? What is remarkable of the Montfort family? Who appealed to Edward III. for aid? Through what other quarter was Edward invited to carry on his enterprises on the continent?

4. Describe the conduct of Godfrey of Harcourt. In what manner did the King of England follow it up? What was his conduct to Normandy? What progress did he make through France before the battle of Crecy?

5. Describe the manner in which Edward posted his army at Crecy. Give an account of the method of fighting then adopted. In what did the superior strength of the English army consist? How did this superiority appear in the battle? How was the battle gained?

6. To what town did Edward march after gaining his victory? How did he proceed against it? What indications did he give of chivalrous feelings? How were the attempts of the King of France to relieve the town useless? Give an account of the taking of the town, and of the conduct of Edward, his queen, and the six citizens.

7. What calamities besides foreign invasion befell France? Describe the two epidemics. What was the character of John the Good? What was that of the King of Navarre? What offered new opportunities of invasion to the English monarch? Who invaded France?

8. How did the King of France endeavour to meet the invasion? How were the armies proportioned to each other in point of numbers? What rash conduct was the French king guilty of? Give a description of the battle of Poitiers. How did the French people act after it?

9. What was the conduct of Charles the Bad? How did the citizens of Paris act? What tyranny had arisen in France? What had degenerated? What was the position of the peasantry? What was the effect of their sufferings on them? What was the Jacquerie?

10. Give an account of a remarkable incident connected with the Jacquerie, and of the individuals concerned in it. What increased the dauphin's power? Against whom did he use it? Give an account of the next invasion. What terms did the English king consent to?

## CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES V. TO THE EXTINCTION  
OF THE ENGLISH POWER, 1364—1461.

Charles V.—Bertrand du Guesclin—The insane King—Invasion of England—Rosbecque—Burgundy and Orleans—Agincourt—The Conquest—Charles VII.—The Scotch Auxiliaries—The Maid of Orleans—The Extinction of the English Power.

A.D. } 1. JOHN left four sons : Charles, the dauphin ; Louis,  
1364. } duke of Anjou ; John, duke of Berry ; and Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and founder of the new sovereign house of that name. These princes, as we shall see, were destined to play an important part in the history of France. Charles, who received the surname of "The Wise," had already learned much of the art of government by disastrous experience ; and though his reign was not distinguished by brilliant events, it earned a better title to remembrance by the restoration of national security, and the gradual expulsion of foreign enemies. The commencement of the new reign was marked by victory. Bertrand du Guesclin, a Breton knight, defeated the troops of the King of Navarre under the command of the Captal of Buch, already mentioned, one of the most renowned captains of the fourteenth century. The victor was subsequently taken prisoner at the battle of Auray, in which Charles of Blois was slain. The death of this warrior, who always wore a hair-shirt next his skin, secured to Joan of Montfort the tranquil possession of Brittany after a war of twenty-three years. The King of Navarre was now glad to sue for peace, and Du Guesclin was ransomed for 100,000 francs, which Charles generously paid. Du Guesclin next performed a still more signal service to France, in ridding her of a large portion of the free companies. One of the parties in a civil war in Spain requested the assistance of French troops, whom they offered to pay, and these free companies were willingly handed over to them, under the leadership of Du Guesclin, in whom, as a re-

nowned warrior, they had confidence. These ruffians had all been excommunicated by the pope; and before proceeding to Spain, they marched to Avignon, then the papal city, where they requested absolution in a manner which showed that there would be danger in refusing it. This was not, however, the sole object of their visit, for they presently begged a large sum of money, as a charitable donation, to help them on their way, and with this, too, the pope was compelled to comply. In his foreign campaign, Du Guesclin encountered the Black Prince, who, though still victorious, was seriously wasting the resources of England. When he attempted to recruit his exhausted finances by a tax on the ceded territory of Guyenne, the barons murmured and appealed to the King of France. A curious proceeding, and characteristic of feudal customs, was now adopted. Charles, as still the overlord of Guyenne, summoned the Black Prince to appear at his court at Paris and answer for his conduct. This would not have been attempted had there not been considerable reliance on the weakened state of England. Even as it was, the prince haughtily answered, that he would appear at the head of sixty thousand men. He did not, however, fulfil his threat, for a mortal disease had taken hold of him, and he returned to England to die. Edward III. soon followed him to the grave, and these two events gave confidence to the French. An English army crossed the country; but their opponents, avoiding a general engagement, harassed it in detail, and cleared the land of provisions around it. In the end, without any brilliant victory, the royal power of the French king had been gradually restored almost to its old condition before the death of Charles V. in 1380.

2. CHARLES VI.—The reign of his son Charles VI., who succeeded him at the age of thirteen, was one of disaster, shame, and misery. He exhibited early symptoms of mental weakness, caused, as has been supposed, by the vices of his youth. One day as he was riding through a wood, heavily clothed, and languid almost to fainting from the excessive heat of the day, he saw, or imagined he saw, a strange spectre-like figure appear suddenly before him and exclaim, "King, whither goest thou?—thou art betrayed!" Still

passing on in a dreamy lassitude, one of the pages, also overpowered by the heat, dropped his lance on the helmet of another. This clash of arms connected itself in the king's mind with his mysterious warning, and raging and insane he rushed upon his attendants, who with some difficulty seized and secured him. He afterwards partially recovered his reason; but a horrible incident recalled his disease in a more confirmed shape. It was common at that time for the higher classes to amuse themselves with rude masquerades, at one of which the king and five of his nobles, wishing to appear like savages, clothed themselves in tight linen garments besmeared with pitch, on which a quantity of flax or hemp was stuck, to represent rough hair. The Duke of York approaching one of them with a torch, to examine him more closely, the flame communicated with the pitchy flax, which immediately took fire, and the wretched masker was involved in flames. Running distractedly about, he set fire to the others, four of whom suffered a lingering death of torture. The king's life was saved by the courageous intervention of the Duchess of Berri; but his reason was gone. The people still retained a superstitious love for the poor insane monarch; but the country was filled with confusion and wild extravagance; while the most atrocious murders were frequently committed by the greatest persons of the land.

BURGUNDY.—This fine province, which on his father's death became the portion of Philip the Bold, the younger brother of Charles V., was considerably enlarged by the duke's marriage with Margaret, daughter of the earl of Flanders, and heiress of Provence. His dukedom thus formed a powerful state, "with one foot in France and one in Germany," as it was said. Its ruler was not properly a monarch, since he owed feudal homage to a king for one part of his dominions, and to an emperor for the other; but he sometimes, as a mere duke, had more real power than either of these sovereigns. The cities of Flanders had risen above all other European towns in commercial wealth; and, before the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, they along with Venice derived great advantages from the commerce between the Eastern and the Western World, which passed overland, and through the Mediterranean Sea.



3. INVASION OF ENGLAND.—Under the weak reign of Richard II. England had lost its former power; and the Duke of Burgundy planned a joint invasion of Britain, to be conducted by his own forces and those of France. Preparations on a magnificent scale were made for this great enterprise, in which it was believed that all the wrongs of France would be avenged. A multitude of vessels was brought together from different parts of the coast, and in many instances, from places far to the north even of the Duke of Burgundy's dominions. A moveable town, made of wood, was packed up in departments in several ships, in order that it might be erected wherever the expedition arrived, and thus afford immediate shelter to the troops. But the elements favoured the stronghold of freedom, as they had done before, and have done since. Through some unworthy jealousies the expedition was detained till an unfavourable period of the year, when it was dispersed and broken up by a storm.

ROSBEQUE.—The citizens of Flanders were rich, spirited, and turbulent; they stood on their municipal privileges, and often denied the existence of the power claimed over them by the counts of Flanders. We have seen how James von Arteveld had organized the popular power, and fallen  
A.D. } a victim to the intrigues of his selfish fellow-country-  
1345. } men. His son, named Philip after his godmother Philippa, wife of Edward III., was raised to the head of the council of Ghent, and to the command of the army, levied at a sudden outbreak against the claims of the Duke of Burgundy. For about fifteen months his career was brilliant as a romance: the great force led against him by the duke and the young King of France was effectually resisted; but at length he fell, and the Flemish cause perished with him in the celebrated battle of Rosbecque, fought on 27th November 1382. So ruthlessly were the poor Flemings slaughtered, that the dead are said to have numbered nearly 30,000; yet the survivors still held out, and it was not till their privileges were restored that they laid down their arms. Indeed the victory of Rosbecque was more disastrous to France than to Flanders, for it strengthened the hands of the king, and enabled him to humble and keep in subjection his turbulent capital.

**BURGUNDY AND ORLEANS.**—The new Duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless, who succeeded his father in 1404, was a man of insatiable ambition, and who shrunk at no crime. Feigning to be reconciled with the Duke of Orleans, he communicated with him in the holy sacrament on Sunday, the 20th November 1407, and on the Wednesday following, caused his unsuspecting rival to be barbarously assassinated in one of the streets of Paris. The son of the murdered man afterwards strengthened the influence of his house by a marriage with the daughter of the Count of Armagnac, a fierce leader of a free company of brigands. Both parties sought the aid of England; and Henry IV. in the end adopted that of the Orleanists, apparently as being the highest bidders. This feud commenced with ferocious internal warfare; but it afterwards led to calamities from without, which overwhelmed and silenced these civil broils.

**4. AGINCOURT.**—The ambitious Henry V. had succeeded to the throne of England, and the old claim on the sovereignty of France revived in his dreams, while he longed to rival the victories of Edward and the Black Prince. France, in her weakened and disordered state, showed a readiness to accede to any reasonable demands; but the King of England was exacting, and the question was left to the ordeal of battle. In the year 1415, he landed with an army at the mouth of the Seine, and after a month's siege took the town of Harfleur. Marching thence towards Calais, he endeavoured to cross the Somme, but the river was so well guarded, that he had to ascend to St Quentin ere he could ford it. The French, who, as usual when the rumour of an English invasion reached them, had risen in great masses, could now easily intercept him in his retreat. He despised all their threats and preparations, however, and with haughty scorn bid them come forth into the open field, where he was ready to meet them. On the 25th of October, his wish was gratified. With an army not exceeding 9000 fighting-men, he confronted the numerous host of France encamped at Agincourt—an army 50,000 strong, counting in its ranks the flower of the blood-royal and of the nobility. The calamities to the French at Crecy and Poitiers having been attributed to their desultory and impetuous attack, they resolved to avoid that blunder. But the same fate

seemed ever to pursue them. The English monarch advanced with his well-ordered and high-spirited men-at-arms mounted on their powerful chargers, his hardy billmen, and his formidable bowmen, who stuck in the ground before them a line of stakes, which impeded the approach of cavalry, and then shot into the dense host their deadly cloth-yard shafts. Great efforts were made by the French cavalry to force the archers, but in vain ; their wounded horses rushed backward and created confusion in their ranks. The whole huge mass was thrown into disorder ; many fled and were not pursued, for the small army had difficulty in preserving its prisoners. Indeed, the great stain on Henry's conduct of the day is, that he, at one time, fearing that the great multitude of captives might break loose and fight the battle over again, caused many of them to be put to death, until his apprehensions were allayed. The result of the battle was most disastrous to the chivalry of France : seven princes of the blood were slain, and in all there perished on the field 8000 gentlemen, knights, or squires, including 120 lords that had each a banner of his own. Henry, instead of taking farther advantage of his victory, followed up his original intention, and marched to his fortified town of Calais, whence he returned to England.

5. Thus, free from the presence of the conqueror, the insane parties again turned their arms against each other. In Paris, the Orleans or Armagnac party was routed by the Burgundians, when a slaughter took place marked by all the horrors and enormities which have too often disgraced that guilty city. On the 12th June 1418, the populace broke open the prisons ; and forcing all who were confined there to come out, slew them one by one : the constable Armagnac, the chancellor, seven prelates, the peers and magistrates of the parliament, with many others of less note, were dragged from their dungeons and massacred. The prison of the Châtelet alone made some resistance, but it was set on fire and at length surrendered. The mob then rushed in, and either threw the prisoners, or compelled them to precipitate themselves, out of the windows upon pikes which were held below to receive them. In the court of the palace, the blood of the murdered flowed ankle-deep, and there was not a street in Paris without its assassinations. Every species

of outrage was executed upon the dead bodies during three days ; and a sash, in the form of that worn as the badge of the triumphant faction, was cut for the Duke d'Armagnac out of his own flesh, and hung across his corpse. Three thousand five hundred persons perished in three days ; the murderers were applauded by the chiefs of the nobility, and some of them are reported to have gained 300,000 crowns by their exploits. Immediately afterwards the infamous Queen Isabella with the Duke of Burgundy returned to Paris in triumph ; and the streets, from which the blood shed by her orders a day or two before was not yet washed away, were strewn with roses for her solemn entry. Henry could no longer resist the temptation of mastering a country so divided. He first seized on Normandy, the old domain of his ancestors,—Rouen, its capital, yielding to him in January 1419. A new tragedy improved his opportunities. It was agreed that the dauphin, now the head of the Orleans party, should have a conference with John the Fearless of Burgundy. In those days of suspicion and violence, it was a very difficult matter to arrange such a meeting, and the place generally chosen for the purpose was a bridge, where no one could approach without being seen. A strong barrier being placed in the middle, the leaders, each with an equal party, conferred through a narrow opening. On this occasion the meeting was held on the bridge of Montereau, where the duke, while bending his knee to the heir of the throne of France, was treacherously murdered by one of the dauphin's followers. Burning for revenge, the duke's son repaired to Henry and offered to aid him in his efforts to seize the throne of France, commencing the acknowledgment of his sovereignty by doing homage to him for his territories ; and so bitterly did the Parisians hate the Orleans faction, that Henry was acknowledged by the capital as King of France. He died just as the object of his ambition had been accomplished, in August 1422 ; but so well based was his power, that his infant son, Henry VI., was proclaimed at Paris.

A.D. } CHARLES VII.—The King of France did not  
1422. } survive his powerful rival more than two months. His had been a miserable and humiliating reign ; but better days were in store, after a probation of calamity, for his

son Charles VII., then in his twentieth year. While the Duke of Bedford, as guardian of the young King of England, governed in Paris, the heir of the French line had only a precarious authority over a small territory north of the Loire, and, from the city where he chiefly resided, he was called the petty King of Bourges. He was indolent and fond of pleasure; yet he took some vigorous measures. Believing his subjects to be utterly terror-stricken and unfit to meet the English in the field, he obtained troops from another country who had successfully fought against these terrible bowmen. The Earl of Buchan brought over from 5000 to 6000 Scotsmen, who defeated the English at Beaujé. This first gleam of success induced the king to raise Buchan to the high office of Constable of France. But these few Scots were unfit, badly supported as they were, to compete with the great power of England, and they were by degrees defeated and exterminated. The battles of Crevant in 1423, and Verneuil in 1424, have been compared to the glorious affairs of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt.

6. THE MAID OF ORLEANS.—To all appearance France had now become a permanent province of England; but it was doomed that the next step attempted in advance should, by a series of events the most singular and marvellous that have been recorded in history, overturn the English power more rapidly than it had been built, and in the end obliterate it altogether. Orleans, on the Loire, being the strongest place then occupied by the French, the Duke of Bedford determined to besiege it. He was opposed by the brave Dunois, a natural son of the murdered Duke of Orleans, until further resistance seemed hopeless, when a personage appeared from an obscure quarter, whose fortune it was to restore the liberties of France. This was the renowned Joan of Arc—the maid of Orleans, daughter of a peasant in Domremi, said to be only eighteen years old, and whose previous occupation had been that of herding cattle. She gave out that several of the saints of her church had appeared to her and told her the great mission on which she was to proceed. It was natural that she should be believed by the common people, who, when deeply oppressed or injured, are more inclined to trust in superna-

tural intervention than in their own energies ; and, indeed, they had a tradition among them that they were to be delivered by a virgin. But the belief soon penetrated into higher quarters. Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, was the first important person to whom she spoke of her inspiration ; and when she offered to raise the siege of Orleans, and crown the king at Rheims, it is not surprising that he should have treated her as a visionary. But she pertinaciously repeated her story, and he came gradually to listen to it more respectfully, and at last consented to present her to the king. Statesmen and grave divines, after professing to give the matter full consideration, declared their belief in her miraculous mission, and the news was received with universal enthusiasm. How many of the higher classes really believed it, and how many encouraged it knowing it to be a delusion, but trusting that it would have a powerful effect on the popular mind, cannot now be ascertained. It is well known, however, that if a people believe that they are the special objects of divine aid, they are inspired with a courage and enthusiasm which overcome all difficulties. On the other hand, the English, who at first laughed at her pretensions, became benumbed by fear or apathy the more the French were elated. Clad in armour, she went with Dunois at the head of an escort to convey provisions to the besieged garrison, and accomplished the object without resistance. She next marched into the town, the English looking on in silence, and then headed an attack on the besiegers, who were routed, though the gallant Talbot, one of the first leaders of the age, was at their head. The maid now gained victory after victory. She marched through a well garrisoned country almost unopposed, until she reached Rheims, and there performed her promise of assisting at the coronation of the king.

7. At length, however, Joan's career received a sudden and fatal check. While defending the town of Compiègne, besieged by the Earl of Arundel, she was wounded and taken prisoner. Her subsequent fate was disgraceful to all concerned in it. Prisoners taken in battle, or prisoners of war, as they are called, are never, by the practice of civilized nations, treated as criminals who should be punished, but are detained merely to give a triumph to their captors, and to

prevent them from fighting. Under the pretence that the rules applicable to soldiers could not apply to a woman, Joan was treated as if she had been a murderess or a robber. To give an apparent justification to her persecutors, she was accused of being "a disciple and lymbe of the fiende that used false enchauntments and sorcerie," an imaginary crime to be punished with death, and believed in by many learned men even down to the early part of the eighteenth century. But if the English authorities were basely vindictive towards the heroine, her countrymen were more basely servile, in showing a still greater anxiety to punish her than the enemies she had defeated. The Bishop of Beauvais, a Frenchman, petitioned the English authorities that she should be given over to an ecclesiastical court to be tried for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. She was found guilty of all these charges, with the addition of heresy, attributed to her on account of her bold answers to the questions with which she was persecuted, and on the 30th May 1431, she was burned alive in the market-place of Rouen.

This ungenerous cruelty did more harm than good to the cause of English ascendancy in France. The Duke of Bedford showed great courage and prudence in keeping his own ground at Paris, and neither giving way nor rashly interfering while the enthusiasm was at its height. But he soon alienated his friends by his personal conduct. He lost his wife, a sister of the Duke of Burgundy, and married a princess of the house of Luxemburg with indecent haste. The Duke conceived that by this new connexion his family was insulted; but he had more substantial reasons for being suspicious of English ascendancy, for if France and England were under one monarch, his own importance as a sovereign would be much less than if they were distinct states. Notwithstanding the murder of his father, he became reconciled to Charles VII., and a treaty was concluded A.D. } at Arras, in which he obtained considerable territorial  
1435. } advantages, engaging in return to assist the king in recovering his dominions. He now took an active and resolute part against the English, who were soon driven out of Paris, where his popularity and interest were great. In fact, day by day they lost one place of strength after another. In 1444, a truce for four years was established between the two powers,

England still retaining possession of a considerable part of the country. While hostilities were thus suspended, the French were becoming consolidated as a nation: the nobles rallied round the throne, and the government, imitating their invaders, established a formidable body of well-trained archers chosen from among the peasantry. When the truce expired, England was weakened by the civil wars of York and Lancaster, and in the end her government in France was limited to Calais. In 1461, Charles VII. died, leaving dominions which were well fitted to be formed into a compact kingdom by an able successor.

During this reign, Constantinople fell into the power of the Turks, and the Roman empire of the east was extinguished. A circumstance no less remarkable in the annals of the world was the discovery of printing. The Middle Ages were ended: the dawn of a brighter day was breaking.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What was the character of Charles V.? What French champion arose? Mention a valuable service he did to France, and the curious incidents connected with it in relation to the pope. How did the King of England lose influence in his French territories?

2. What was the character of the reign of Charles VI.? Mention some anecdotes connected with his incapacity. Describe how the state of Burgundy came to be formed, and to exercise a powerful influence in Europe.

3. What projects were entertained for an invasion of England? What was their result? What was the character of the citizens of Flanders? How did they act to the Duke of Burgundy? What was the effect of the victory gained over them? What incident occurred in the feud between the houses of Burgundy and Orleans?

4. Who renewed the English claims on the sovereignty of France? When did Henry invade France? What direction did his army proceed in? Where was a great battle fought? What difference was there between the conduct of the French in this and previous battles? What was the result of the conflict? What stained the conduct of the victor?

5. What was the conduct of French parties after the victory of Agincourt? What advantage was taken of it? Give an account of the tragedy which improved the English king's opportunities. What showed the stability of his power in France? What was the character of Charles VII.? What troops successfully aided him against the English?

6. What place did the Duke of Bedford determine to besiege? Give an account of Joan of Arc. What induced many to doubt her pretensions? What classes began to have confidence in her? Describe the effect which a belief in her supernatural mission had on her countrymen and their enemies.

7. What checked Joan of Arc's career? How was it peculiarly unjust to treat her as a criminal? How was she used by the French and their invaders? What was the conduct of the Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy? How did the English authority decline in France?



## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE REIGN OF LOUIS THE ELEVENTH, A. D. 1461—1483.

The King's mixed Character—Destroys the Power of the Feudal Lords—Designs on Burgundy—League of the Public Good—Treaty of Conflans—Charles the Rash—The Visit to Peronne—The Liegeois—The Duke of Berri—An English Invasion—The Swiss—The Monarchy as left by Louis.

1. THERE are many periods of French history recording more brilliant events, but none more important if we regard their influence on the country, than that which includes the reign of Louis XI. He lived in an age of enthusiasm and chivalrous display, when tournaments and courts of love were in high favour throughout his dominions. Though vice and profligacy abounded, yet there were great pretensions to knightly honour and courtesy, and falsehood or the desertion of a friend was sufficient to cover a man of rank with opprobrium. While every kind of treachery was condemned by the laws of chivalry and honour, all were by the same laws bound to avenge insults and injuries, and he who bore them patiently was utterly despised.

The King of France, who should naturally have been the leader in the profession of such chivalrous sentiments, repudiated and despised them, nor would he ever engage in anything whose object was not to secure power, profit, or pleasure to himself. He never kept his word if he thought he could obtain the slightest advantage by breaking it, and spared none whose death he conceived would promote his interest; but, on the other hand, he never put to death any one in passion. If he suffered an injury, he did not trouble himself about the matter, unless he foresaw that he might gain something by the punishment of the perpetrator. His enemies were thus as safe as his friends, if they could be of use to him, and often those who had been his most faithful servants were sacrificed without the slightest compunction, when it suited his purpose. He was fond of mean

pleasures, because they were cheap, and regulated his payments for services by the lowest scale of remuneration. In cases of emergency, however, he did not hesitate to spend large sums, thus appearing occasionally as a kind and generous master; and when he required the aid of particular individuals, he not only overlooked all their defects and misconduct, but even rewarded them liberally.

As he had no truth or honesty in himself, he seldom believed that these qualities existed in others, and generally treated men as if they were to be bought and sold. His bad opinion of human nature made him very sarcastic in his manner, especially to those who professed to be guided by generous or disinterested motives; and he would often make complimentary remarks with a hidden and sometimes not very agreeable meaning. Thus, to a messenger from one of his troublesome feudal vassals, he expressed a wish to have so valuable a head within his dominions, and as the messenger bowed in acknowledgment of such a compliment to his master's wisdom, the wily king whispered to a courtier, " 'Tis the *head* only I want, not the trunk."

In that age of adornment and display, the king was extremely sordid in his attire, and with his sinister expression of countenance, large mouth and wrinkled yellow cheeks, his appearance was by no means worthy the monarch of a great people. But for this he cared not, so long as he could tax and oppress his subjects and cheat his enemies. Though he could scarcely be called religious, he was very superstitious. When about to commit any crime, he would consult the stars, that he might ascertain the happy moment for its execution, and attempted to propitiate heaven by giving money for the performance of masses, or to be deposited on the shrine of some saint; always taking care, however, to make a good bargain, and not give away more than he was likely to gain by the contemplated sin.

Perhaps the only very impolitic act of severity with which he can be charged was committed at the beginning of his reign, when he dismissed all the servants of the previous king; but for this he may have had some reasons of deep state policy. He owed a debt of gratitude to the Duke of Burgundy for protecting him when under his father's displeasure, but he speedily showed that he acknowledged

no such obligation; for while he levied taxes with the utmost severity upon all his vassals, he did not except the duke, to whose French dominions he threatened to extend the gabelle or salt duty. Louis above all strove to undermine the power and authority of the feudal lords of France, such as the Dukes of Bourbon and Brittany. He was watchful, cunning, and even brave when occasion required; and these nobles and some others of inferior rank soon found that their influence was gradually disappearing, while that of the king was increasing. But the great aim of this crafty king was to bring down the House of Burgundy, whose power he felt to be a rival to his own. Indeed, at that time it was uncertain which of the two was likely to exercise supreme authority between the Pyrenees and the North Sea. The duke was a vassal of the French king for a portion of his territories, and as these had increased like those of the crown of France itself, when King Louis mounted the throne, Philip duke of Burgundy was not only the Lord of Bourgoyne or Burgundy, and of Franche Comté, within the boundaries of modern France, but of nearly the whole Netherlands, now comprised in the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium. Here were wealth and industry, but the rich burghers of the cities in the Low Countries were not so slavish as the poor peasantry of France. So long, however, as they were but tolerably faithful subjects, the Duke of Burgundy was one of the most powerful princes in Europe. Louis felt this, and being afraid that the power of his rival might increase, he resolved if possible to crush him.

2. LEAGUE OF THE PUBLIC GOOD.—Having had but too distinct a manifestation of his intentions, the feudal lords banded themselves together under the Duke of Burgundy's son, the Count of Charollais, and took the title of the League of the Public Good. In this league all the princes and chief vassals of the crown were concerned: the Dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, Alençon, Bourbon, the Count of Du-nois, so renowned for his valour in the English wars, the families of Foix and Armagnac; and highest in rank of all, Charles, duke of Berri, the king's brother and presumptive heir. The discontented princes and barons raised a considerable army and advanced on Paris. Louis was absent in the Bourbonnais, trying to chastise one of the recusant

nobles, when he first heard that they had made this formidable combination, and were striking at the heart of his dominions. He returned, and the two armies encountered each other at Montlhéry. The troops of France and Burgundy were not then much accustomed to pitched battles, <sup>27th July</sup> as the result of this one showed; for it appears <sup>1465.</sup> that both armies retreated, each thinking that the other was victorious.

It has already been mentioned, that on necessary occasions Louis was not deficient in courage, but he thought that cheating his opponents was in every respect better than fighting them. He was afraid to risk another battle, which, although it might result in the dispersion of his enemies, might on the other hand endanger his throne. He therefore began skilfully to separate the leaders from each other. The leaguers soon quarrelled among themselves for supremacy, and while the Count of Charollais was jealous of the others, Louis endeavoured to arrange a treaty of peace with them. One day while the treaty was in progress, he advanced to the bank of the Seine, attended by his archers, and going into a little boat, called out to the count, who naturally came to the bank of the river on his own side, "Brother, shall I be safe if I come to you, and will you assure me?" The count answered, "As safe as a brother ought to be." The king then landed, and immediately complimented his opponent with a joke which he knew would flatter his rash and adventurous character. "I find," said the king, "that you are a gentleman and a man of your word." The count was curious to hear the reason of this praise. It happened that not long previously Louis had sent an ambassador to the court of Burgundy, whose demands were so offensive that the young man, with his usual impetuosity, said he would make the king repent of the insult before the year was at an end. "And now," said Louis, "you have been as good as your word; and much before the time; it is with such persons, who are punctual to their promises, that I would wish to deal." They had afterwards other personal conferences, and in one of them the count walked with the king in earnest conversation until he had unawares come within part of the fortifications of Paris. Every one was surprised that he

was not kidnapped; but Louis had a deeper game to play, and he found it necessary to grant almost every thing that the leaguers asked, in order that when he got them separated, he might break his treaty and crush them in detail. He made a ready use of the selfishness of human nature on this occasion, for as his friend and biographer, De Comines, says, "some proposals were made likewise for the good of the commonwealth, but those were least insisted on, for the common was now turned into the private wealth." These conferences ended in the treaty of Conflans, executed on the 5th of October 1465.

3. As soon as the treaty was signed, and the chiefs of the League for the Public Good had dispersed, in the belief that they had accomplished something for their advantage, Louis began to undermine and attack the power of the different lords in their own territories, not excepting his brother, the Duke of Berri, whom he had invested with the government of the duchy of Normandy as his appanage. The states-general, however, obedient to the suggestions of Louis, declared that the king could not alienate this duchy, and Guyenne was conferred on the duke in its stead. In the meanwhile, Philip duke of Burgundy died, and his son, the A.D. } Count of Charollais, succeeded him. It may be ob-  
1467. } served, that it was usual in that day to give each king a name descriptive of his character. Thus the new Duke of Burgundy, whose name was Charles, was called also *Le Téméraire*. We have no English word that conveys precisely the same meaning, and perhaps it may be best translated by the epithet "audacious," as it infers not only courage but rashness. Louis, who was courageous, though certainly not rash, resolved on trying a very dexterous and bold experiment with the duke, so as to outdo the young man himself in his characteristic qualities, while paying him the compliment of trusting himself in his hands. In pursuance of this plan, when he was encamped at the strong fortress of Peronne, the king joined him almost unattended, as one might visit a neighbour living peacefully in his country house at the present day. He, however, very nearly overreached himself, and indeed had a narrow escape.

The rash duke would readily have allowed him to occupy

a place in which he would have been free to come and go, but the king found certain individuals in the camp who were objects of greater dread to him than the Burgundian troops. These were persons whom he had dismissed from offices, or disgusted by his avarice and oppression, and who had taken refuge in the service of his rival. Not liking the appearance and neighbourhood of these once familiar faces, he prayed that he might be lodged in the impregnable fortress of Peronne,—a request that was immediately granted. But during the whole of this affair he appears strangely enough to have forgotten his own recent proceedings. The flourishing towns of Flanders, Liege, Ghent, and Antwerp, though they were under the feudal authority of the duke, being rich and powerful, and having corporate privileges, were fond of independence, and often inclined to shake off their lord's authority. It was part of the crooked policy of Louis secretly to encourage them in their turbulence; and just before his visit to Charles, he had sent two messengers to stir up the people of Liege, who did their mission so effectually, that they besieged the castle of Tongres, where the bishop and the Lord of Himbercourt, a retainer of the Duke of Burgundy, were stationed with more than 2000 men, took several prisoners, killed many men of eminence, among whom were several dignified ecclesiastics, and actually cut a follower of the bishop into little bits, which they threw at each other in their ferocious levity. All this, with the statement, which was found afterwards to be a mistake, that the bishop himself had been murdered, was told to the hot-headed duke just when the enemy, who had secretly instigated these atrocities, had allowed himself to be shut up in one of his strongest castles.

The duke caused the king's apartments to be watched and guarded under some idle pretence; but Louis divining the real cause of this vigilance, did not venture to go out, knowing that he would be stopped. Some historical associations connected with his prison-house made him very melancholy: from its windows he could see the tower in which five centuries before Charles the Simple, one of his ancestors, had been confined seven years by another rebellious vassal. The duke gave way to the natural propensities of a furious disposition, telling his followers that Louis had cheated and

made a fool of him, and if they had been rash, they might have tempted him to commit violence on the king's person,—an act which would have changed the history of Europe to an extent which no one can well calculate. There is something extremely interesting in the whole of these adventures, which are minutely recorded in the memoirs of Philip of Comines. He had, perhaps, seen more royal meetings than any man who has published what he witnessed, and his reflections on this occasion were, that when princes with followers come together mischief is sure to arise; and of this he gives instances, some tragical and some ludicrous; but the worst appears to have been when the Count Palatine of the Rhine visited the Duke of Burgundy, and the count's servants tossed their huge leather boots, and other weather-stained garments, on the richly furnished beds which the hospitable Charles had prepared for them.

The Duke of Burgundy continued to show many symptoms of violent passion. His attendants observed that he could not sleep; that he walked up and down stamping his feet occasionally, and that he was in a humour to perpetrate some act of violence. A monarch of different constitution from Louis would have stood on his authority, and treated the Duke of Burgundy as a rebel and a traitor if he did not at once comport himself as a vassal should behave to his liege lord. Louis, however, was unlike other people: he said nothing, but occupied himself in bribing some of the duke's most able followers, while he at the same time settled his plans for vengeance. At the end of three days the duke's wrath abated, but he still kept the king a prisoner, and proposed to him that they should join in making war against the inhabitants of Liege,—an arrangement which no honourable person would have adopted, but which Louis entered into with great readiness.

4. **STORMING OF LIEGE.**—Thus these two princes set off together to attack a community who had made themselves wealthy and independent by the fruits of honest industry, and whose turbulence had been in this instance excited by the king who was going to sacrifice them. The two leaders heartily distrusted each other, and each kept up a strong guard, fearful of being carried off or assassinated. Louis

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had the good fortune to have his own favourite guards about him. "These Scotch troops," says Comines, "behaved themselves valiantly, maintained their ground, would not stir one step from the king, and were very nimble with their bows and arrows, with which it is said they killed more of the Burgundians than of the enemy." The men of Liege fought bravely, but they were at last overpowered. The city was stormed and sacked; multitudes of the citizens were slain, and even the churches were plundered of their treasures. But not content with the cruelty and ruin thus perpetrated in the heat of battle, the duke afterwards ordered the town to be burned over the heads of the in-

A.D. } habitants, in the middle of a winter so cold that the  
1468. } soldiers cut the frozen wine with their hatchets.

Thus were the fruits of peaceful industry and ingenuity sacrificed to the humour of a fierce tyrant; while Louis departed much pleased and satisfied, since the wrath of his headstrong enemy had fallen on the weavers and tanners of Liege instead of on himself.

14th Oct. } Having concluded a treaty with the duke, and  
1468. } escaped out of his hands, it now became the king's business to find excuses for infringing the stipulations he had made, and punishing all who were concerned in his captivity. There was in his court a certain haughty and ambitious clergyman called Balue, who had made himself so useful that he rose from a low condition to be a cardinal. This man Louis charged with having induced him to go to Peronne, and resolved to punish him. It is said that the cardinal had been the inventor of a horrible kind of imprisonment within an iron cage, so small that the prisoner could not stand upright. This was considered an appropriate punishment for himself, and he had to endure its horrors for twelve years, till his master's death,—a longer time than one would think the human frame could hold out against such torture.

Louis proceeded with his old plans for gradually absorbing the wealth and power of the nobility; and having strengthened himself and collected a large army, nothing was wanting but an excuse for a war with the Duke of Burgundy. This he found in the proposed marriage between the duke's daughter and the king's brother, the Duke



of Guyenne, formerly Duke of Berri. Both parties seem to have been really afraid of such an alliance, and yet Louis went to war as if for his brother's interest. In this campaign the Constable St Pol, a feudal noble who was rising to great power, took St Quentin and other places in the name of the king, but, as it was afterwards found, for his own advantage, and to pursue a purpose of separate aggrandizement. A new treaty was now proposed, which the Duke of Burgundy at once agreed to, but the king delayed day after day. It would have been much to his advantage at that time that his brother should die before he signed it; and as the Duke of Berri did die after eating a peach <sup>May</sup> } which was believed to be poisoned, people naturally <sub>1472.</sub> } charged Louis with his death. One chronicler says, that he was overheard by the court jester confessing it in a prayer addressed to an image of the Virgin, which he thought he could bribe by gifts to intercede for him, at the same time admitting that the other images would not, because they had interceded for him too often already.

5. AN ENGLISH INVASION.—But dangers now threatened the monarchy of France, from which it very narrowly escaped. Although averted by the wisdom and cunning of the king, they were doubtless, in the first place incurred by his dishonesty. The Duke of Burgundy, at the head of so wide and rich a dominion, was no longer disposed to remain a mere feudal lord, with the Emperor of Germany over him in one part of his territory, and the King of France in another. He desired to "close his crown," as it was termed. The crowns of sovereign princes were arched over and covered, while those of the nobility were mere circles; and hence, when a noble aspired to be a king, he was said to be closing his crown. The duke roused the ambition of Edward IV. of England, and the two agreed to make war on Louis and divide the spoil, taking into their alliance the Constable St Pol and other discontented nobles. Edward, after sending to Louis a herald with a letter of defiance, "written," says Comines, "in such an elegant style, and such polite language, that I can scarce believe any Englishman wrote it," passed into France with <sup>A.D.</sup> } one of the finest armies that had ever left England, <sub>1475.</sub> } consisting of 1500 men-at-arms and 14,000 archers.

Louis had recourse to all his wiles to relieve him from so great a danger, for he was resolved not to hazard a battle if it could be avoided. The impracticable conduct of Duke Charles served to help him. The duke was pursuing his conquests in Lorraine, and having begun the siege of Nuz or Metz, in that province, he continued it with his usual obstinacy and determination not to be balked in his will. Thus he occupied himself in reducing a small town instead of joining the forces of Edward, who naturally began to look coldly on such an ally. There was at the same time the Constable St Pol to be detached from Charles; and Louis accomplished this in a manner which no other king would have thought of. The Lord of Contay, a supporter of the duke, had been taken prisoner, and was in the king's camp. There came at the same time to the camp, Louis de Creville, a follower of St Pol, who was fond of ridiculing the Duke of Burgundy. The king told Contay that St Pol and his followers professed to despise the duke, and if he doubted that, he should see a specimen of their usage of him. The king made Creville sit and talk with him in a chamber where Contay was hidden behind a large screen. Creville had come for the dishonest purpose of saying that his master was making terms with Charles to throw up the English alliance, and when he thus mentioned the duke, he mimicked his fierce overbearing manner, stamping with his feet and swearing by St George. The king desired him to speak a little louder, as old age rendered him less acute of hearing, and Creville immediately repeated his piece of acting with greater energy. This was of course conveyed to the duke, who afterwards quarrelled bitterly with St Pol, and gave him up to the vengeance of Louis, who put him to death.

In the meantime Louis had a no less curious manner of negotiating with the chivalrous King of England. In those days, heraldry, which consisted not only in the marshalling of coats of arms, but in the application of the laws of war, was a science highly venerated, and of great importance. Heraldry passed by a proper college were privileged men everywhere. They could go to hostile camps without being harmed, and they in their turn were bound by the most sacred obligations not to act as spies or repeat anything they might

notice. Louis had no such important officer in his service, and he despised the whole principle of honour and chivalry on which it was founded. To proffer terms to Edward, however, he dressed a menial servant like a herald, and sent him to the English camp, where he was unsuspectingly received and treated with all honour. Had it been known, however, that he was an impostor, who might betray what he saw, he would certainly have been put to death. For nearly two months the English army lay inactive at Peronne, where the money of Louis circulated freely among the corrupt ministers and creatures of Edward. It required great dexterity to manage them, for, as Comines remarks, though they did not conduct their negotiations with so much cunning and policy as the French, "yet a man must be cautious, and have a care not to affront them, for it is dangerous meddling with them." A meeting was at last arranged between the two kings, in the middle of a bridge, where a few followers only could attend each, and a grating was erected between them. At the conference, the French courtiers could not help contrasting the handsome person and the manly noble air of the English monarch with the mean appearance of their own; but Louis thought he obtained the more substantial advantage in getting rid of his terrible enemies. This he accomplished by the payment of a large sum of money, which he called a bribe, while he did not in the least object to the English calling it tribute.

6. THE SWISS.—The career of Duke Charles was now drawing to a close. A quarrel had arisen with the Swiss mountaineers about nothing more important than a cart-load of skins which had been pillaged in its way through the duke's territories. The Swiss were a hardy poor people, living among inaccessible rocks, and proud of their independence. The duke despised them for the very reason that should have made him fear them. He would listen to no terms of accommodation, insulted their messengers or ambassadors as low-born clowns not entitled to any courtesy from so great a prince, and resolved to exterminate them. Louis did not overlook so good an opportunity. He had his agents at work rousing the Swiss by artful insinuations against their oppressor, and supplying them with

money. In two pitched battles, Granson and Morat, the duke was ignominiously defeated; and the peasants <sup>A.D. 1476.</sup> he despised became rich by the plunder of his magnificent camp-equipage, abounding in jewels and gold. Soon after this event, a number of Swiss soldiers were taken into the service of France, and the Swiss guard lasted till the Revolution.

Fallen so suddenly from his lofty eminence, the duke found his allies begin to be lukewarm, and in the end hostile. An Italian mercenary of the name of Campobasso, whom he had lavishly encouraged, deserted him at a critical moment, taking with him the force under his command. Still, however, he obstinately pushed the war in Lorraine, till at last one gloomy winter day his troops were irretrievably <sup>5th Jan. 1476.</sup> defeated before the town of Nancy. After the conflict, some bodies were found, partly devoured by wolves, in the ice of a stagnant pool, and a poor washer-woman was able to recognise, from a ring on his finger, one of these mutilated corpses as that of the magnificent and haughty duke.

Louis could not conceal his lively joy at this event, as Charles only left behind him a young girl to succeed to his dominions and his quarrels. He did not immediately take possession of the duke's territories, but hoped to acquire them more peacefully by a marriage between his son and the young duchess. In this he was baffled, probably through his own crooked policy; for the individual commissioned to negotiate the match was his favourite counsellor, the barber Oliver, whom the Flemings heartily despised. The heiress was speedily married to a royal suitor whose dominions joined <sup>A.D. 1477.</sup> hers on their other side, the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor,—an alliance which commenced that rivalry between France and Austria that has often deluged Europe with blood. War was immediately declared, but it proved unfavourable to Louis, who was glad to come to an arrangement by the treaty of Arras, in which it was stipulated that the dauphin should marry the emperor's daughter, and be invested with the territories of Artois and Picardy, which had lapsed to the king on the death of the last Duke of Burgundy, who had no male heir. Besides these, King Louis had in the course of his reign annexed

to the crown the provinces of Normandy, Berri, Guyenne, Boulogne, La Marche, Anjou, Mayne, and Provence.

Thus far wickedness and fraud had been successful, and the provinces had gained by the substitution of one tyrant for several petty despots. But crime ever brings with it its own punishment, and in the instance of this powerful king the laws of providence were strikingly vindicated. The end both of his crimes and of his success was at hand, and few men looked with greater horror to the last account. He bribed his physicians to prolong his life, and paid a hermit of superior sanctity to intercede for his soul, but the one could not give him ease of body, nor the other ease of mind. As he had no one that loved or esteemed him, he was afraid of treachery, and strove by artificial arrangements to protect himself. Philip de Comines, whom we have often had occasion to quote, has given an interesting account of the manner in which a tyrant tried to isolate himself in those days. "In the first place, nobody was admitted into Plessis les Tours, which was the place where he kept himself, but his domestic servants and his archers, who were 400, some of which kept constant guard at the gate, while others walked continually about to prevent its being surprised. No lord nor person of quality was permitted to lie in the castle, nor to enter with any of his retinue; nor, indeed, did any of them come in but my Lord of Beaujeu, the present Duke of Bourbon, who was his son-in-law. Round about the castle of Plessis he caused a trellis or iron gate to be set up, spikes of iron planted in the wall, and a kind of crow's feet with several points to be placed along the ditch, wherever there was a possibility for any person to enter. Besides which, he caused four watch-houses to be made, all of thick iron, and full of holes, out of which they might shoot at their pleasure, and which were very noble, and cost about 20,000 francs, in which he placed forty of his cross-bowmen, who were to be upon the guard night and day, with orders to let fly upon any man that offered to come near before the opening of the gate in the morning." And on this the honest chronicler remarks, that this great king had made for himself an iron cage only a little larger than that in which he immured his victims. He died on the 30th of August 1483.

## EXERCISES.

1. What is the general character of the reign of Louis XI.? How did he treat chivalry? What was his own personal character? What was his opinion of human nature? Give an account of his appearance. What was the great aim of his policy?
2. What plan did the nobles who were threatened by him adopt? Who was leader of the League for the Public Good? How did Louis proceed regarding it? What was the effect of the treaty of Conflans?
3. What measures did Louis take after the leaguers were dispersed? What was the nature of his experiment on the Duke of Burgundy's credulity? Describe the manner in which he accomplished it. How did he find himself unpleasantly situated at the duke's court? What took place in Flanders? What were the consequences to Louis?
4. What project did the king and duke set off upon? What was said of the Scottish guard? How was the city of Liege treated? Describe the conduct and fate of Cardinal Balue. What occurrences took place in connexion with a treaty with the duke?
5. What danger threatened France? What views had the Duke of Burgundy? What conduct on the part of Charles saved Louis from the English? What means did Louis adopt to divide his enemies? What was peculiar in the way in which Louis sent a messenger to the English monarch? Describe the manner in which the English army was got rid of.
6. With what mountainous race did Duke Charles quarrel? How did he treat them? Describe the consequences of his rashness and insolence. How did Louis attempt to annex his dominions, and how was he baffled? Give an account of the latter days of Louis XI.

## CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES VIII. TO THE  
DEATH OF HENRY II., A. D. 1498—1559.

The Italian Wars—Gaston de Foix—Bayard—Francis I. and his Relation to Henry VIII. and Charles V.—Battle of Marignano—Competition for the Empire—Field of the Cloth of Gold—The Constable Bourbon—Battle of Pavia—Treaty of Cambray—Henry II.—The Guises—The Reformation—Huguenots.

1. CHARLES VIII., the son of Louis, succeeded to the French crown when he was fourteen years of age. His reign, like that of several of his immediate successors, has little interest at the present day, since the principal constitutional changes which made the kings of France supreme over the great feudal lords had been completed by his father's

craft. The monarchical power gradually extended itself; and during Charles's reign, Bretagne or Brittany, previously almost independent like Burgundy, became part of the French kingdom, over which the king reigned as the immediate governor, and not merely as the superior of some powerful duke, who, although nominally his vassal, acted according to his own despotic will. Charles was vain and reckless, and anxious to enjoy military glory, and to indulge in idle luxury at the same time. He had, by descent, a claim to the kingdom of Naples, to enforce which, he marched with a large army into Italy. Here his career was very brilliant: his progress was one continued victory over the Italians, who were torn by factions, and subject to vicious and degraded rulers, totally unfit to guide a people through any arduous struggle. But the French king was almost as incapable as they were. He gained possession of Naples, but lost it as easily as he gained it; and when return-

A. D. }  
1493-96. } ing to France, though he routed the armies of the degenerate Italians, his own troops were nearly annihilated by the hardships of the dreadful Alpine passes.

A. D. }  
1498. } His successor was Louis XII., a grandson of that Duke of Orleans who had been murdered by the Duke of Burgundy. While simply Louis of Orleans, he was very popular, as a prince of chivalrous spirit and open-hearted disposition; and as next heir to the crown, though not a near relative of the previous king, he was naturally an object of jealousy and animosity during the reigns of Louis XI. and Charles. After his accession he scorned to wreak his vengeance upon those who had been the mere instruments of oppression, saying, "the King of France does not avenge the wrongs of the Duke of Orleans." His reign, however, was one of small importance, though he received the title of "The Father of his People." Like his predecessor, he aspired to conquest in Italy, and conducted a series of complicated warlike operations in that country. The main object of French ambition was the kingdom of Naples, with which the pope professed to invest the King of Spain, the rival competitor. This produced one of those conflicts with the head of the Roman-catholic church, for which France has been so remarkable; but though many victories were gained, it was not conducted in

a determined spirit of hostility, and it died away under the dignified rule of the great Leo X. In this war appeared one of the favourite heroes of the French nation, Gaston de Foix, the king's nephew, whose high spirit and noble birth have made him celebrated in the annals of France, though he was only twenty-four years of age when he fell at the battle of Ravenna. In the same reign appeared another famous warrior—the renowned Bayard, known as the knight “without fear and without reproach.” These heroes have obtained and deserved more respect from the French historians and romance writers, than the kings who reigned during the time when they flourished. Henry VIII. of England made an unprofitable attack on France, very different from those of his predecessors, though he A.D. } gained some victories and counted Bayard among his  
1514. } prisoners. Peace was restored in a manner more advantageous for the country than for its king, who, although nearly sixty years of age, married the Princess Mary of England, a girl of sixteen. He did not survive more than two months the gayety and dissipation with which he thought fit to celebrate his nuptials.

2. FRANCIS I.—The accession of Francis I. in 1515 was a sort of era in French history, from the splendour which surrounded his court and the brilliant warlike operations of his reign. He, like Louis XII., was a descendant of the murdered Duke of Orleans, but not in the same line. His symmetrical figure and handsome oblong face, with a peaked beard and graceful cap, are conspicuous in many works of art, and tell his character—brave, hearty, generous, ambitious, careless of the mighty interests committed to his keeping, and fond of pleasure. Of the morality of the court at that time, a shocking picture is preserved in the tales of his sister the Princess Margaret; yet it was less often stained with deep crimes than during the reigns of the monarchs who immediately preceded or followed him. Three remarkable sovereigns then ruled in Europe: Francis I., Henry VIII. of England, who would have resembled him in some measure, but for his cruelty and brutality, and Charles V. of Spain, as brave and ambitious as either of the others, but deep, crafty, and far-sighted. The Emperor Maximilian had acquired a title to the territories of the



Duke of Burgundy in the Low Countries by his marriage with their heiress. Charles was Maximilian's grandson, through the marriage of his son with Isabella the heiress of the Spanish crown. To this crown Charles succeeded in 1516, and Maximilian soon afterwards dying, he claimed to be elected Emperor of Germany. His vast territories made him a formidable competitor; but Francis, who appeared as his opponent, had also established his influence by the consolidation of France, and by foreign conquest. Keeping up the French views on Milan, his troops crossed the Alps, taking the Italians by surprise, though they were protected by a general confederacy of the central European powers.

MARIGNANO.—Francis was on the point of forming a treaty with these confederates, when a body of Swiss, said to amount to 10,000, joining them, insisted on attacking the French army. After the successes which they had gained against Austria and Burgundy, the Swiss mountaineers became the terror of all European princes; but Francis and his followers stood their ground. A battle was fought at Marignano, which contemporary historians describe as the most terrible that had ever taken place, since the two sides were nearly matched, and each was determined to be victorious. The conflict only partially ceased during the night, and to show the privations endured by the French army, it is said that the king slept on a gun-carriage, and was glad to slake his thirst in a little water not free from the contamination of blood. In the morning the battle was resumed, and for the first time a considerable Swiss army was beaten, not so much by being put to flight as by the number slain.

3. This victory made Francis almost supreme in Italy, and he showed all the rashness and assumption natural to a vain ambitious man in the moment of success. He thus pushed his claims for the empire with a hearty confident openness; while his rival Charles worked secretly and sagaciously, and was the successful candidate. Francis was much mortified by this defeat, though at the time when he considered himself sure of the election he professed himself to be but a fair candid competitor, who would retire without a grudge if he were beaten. A long, complicated, and bitter war with the emperor showed how great was his disappointment.

Some curious incidents arose out of the efforts of both parties to gain the support of Henry VIII. of England. Francis and he had a meeting in 1520, of so magnificent a kind that it is commonly referred to as "the Field of the Cloth of Gold." Much dexterity was here shown in adjusting the concessions of the two kings to each other. Henry underwent the chief exertion by crossing the sea; and in consideration of this, the meeting was held within his own dominions round Calais. The nobles who followed the two monarchs made efforts truly desperate to excel each other in the gorgeousness and pomp of their attendance and accoutrements, and many of them were ruined by the sums they spent in horses, gold lace, velvet, and richly decorated armour. It was one of the latest of the extravagant scenes of chivalry, which thus shone bright in its decay. Francis and Henry met in a tent with the view of transacting affairs of state, but they showed a much stronger disposition for pleasure than for business. The treachery that had occurred on previous occasions when princes met in France suggested strong precautions to prevent one of the monarchs from taking advantage of the other; but Francis one day determined in his generous nature to put an end to these unchivalrous suspicions, and rode over to Henry's camp almost unattended. The compliment was returned, and the two dissipated young monarchs pursued an unrestrained course of pleasure. They gave challenges to a tournament, in which they were admitted to excel all their opponents; but the old days of chivalrous equality, when kings were no better than other knights, had passed away, and probably the ordinary combatants were not very anxious to unhorse their royal antagonists. After his return home, the English king fell into the hands of the more wily Emperor Charles, who, through the aid of Wolsey, speedily obliterated all the esteem he had conceived for his brave companion in arms.

4. BOURBON—BATTLE OF PAVIA.—The war between Francis and the emperor was soon raging in the Low Countries and in Italy. The Constable Bourbon, a member of the royal family, and at that time the greatest general in France, had a dispute with the king, whose haughty nature was not disposed to endure the freedoms even of one to

whom he might be indebted for the success of his arms and the safety of his throne. Bourbon had been treated with injustice and oppression; but if the king was rash and overbearing, the constable followed a course which has tarnished his fame for ever: he deserted his country, and took service with its bitterest enemy the emperor. During the progress of the war, the chivalrous Bayard was mortally wounded; and as he had never turned his back on the foe while alive, he desired to die leaning against a tree with his face to the enemy. In this posture he was found by the constable, who ventured to pity him. "It is *you*," said the faithful champion, "who deserve pity—I die happy in having done my duty, but yours will be the dreadful death of a traitor." However odious may have been Bourbon's conduct, it was, if we view it in connexion with the practices of feudalism, the simple revolt of a vassal against an unjust superior.

If revenge was sweet to him, Bourbon had it in full. In 1525, a signal victory was gained over the French at Pavia, mainly owing to his generalship. His great personal enemy Bonnivet lay among the slain, and Francis became his prisoner. It was on this occasion that the chivalrous monarch is reported (but untruly) to have written to his mother the brief but significant phrase: "All is lost save honour." Bourbon's subsequent history is one of the wildest and most romantic on record. His haughty spirit chafed against the reserve with which the honourable Spaniards treated him, and he resolved to be the leader of an army uncontrolled by the authority of any monarch. His military reputation collected multitudes beneath his banners, and he was soon at the head of an armed force composed of the greatest ruffians of all nations. Thus followed, he formed the bold and, as it was considered, impious design of attacking Rome, the centre of catholicism. Through incredible hardships and dangers, he brought on his "black banditti," as Byron calls them.

"Onward sweep the varied nations!  
Famine long hath dealt their rations.  
To the wall, with hate and hunger,  
Numerous as wolves, and stronger,  
On they sweep."

The fate of the city seized and sacked by such a troop can scarcely be conceived in modern peaceful times. Their leader is said to have been the first who mounted the wall, and also to have been the first besieger who was shot, the eccentric sculptor, Benvenuto Cellini, claiming credit for having done the deed.

In the meantime, having just suffered a great defeat, and seeing her king a captive, France was humiliated as she had not been since the days of Poitiers and Agincourt. The safety of the country was said to have been due to the firmness and tact of the king's mother, Louisa of Savoy, a woman of violent passions but of great ability. Charles would have made hard terms for the ransom of his prisoner, but the restless monarch pined so bitterly under his captivity, that the emperor feared death might deprive him of his prize. In 1526, he consented to the treaty of Madrid, by which Francis agreed on his release to resign all claims on Italy, to cede Burgundy, to renounce any title of sovereignty in the Low Countries, and to fulfil other minor articles. As soon as he had recrossed the French frontier, he urged his spirited steed to a gallop, and springing up in the saddle exclaimed, "Once more I am a king."

5. The treaty of Madrid, which Francis, while a prisoner had sworn to observe, he now refused to carry out, alleging several idle pretences which were mere screens for his want of faith. When the emperor accused him of perjury, he retorted by a challenge to single combat—a species of hostilities in which Charles V. was far too wise to indulge. The contest was renewed in Italy, and a series of battles was fought, of which the uniform details become tedious. This war was remarkable for the frightful pestilences which devastated both armies, being caused by their excesses, and the carelessness to provide them with the comforts and necessities of life. In 1529, the celebrated treaty of Cambray was negotiated by the queen-mother and Margaret of Austria, Francis agreeing to give up all claims on Flanders and Italy, while the emperor renounced his own on Burgundy.

But the restless Francis was still hankering for war. A new element of division had now sprung up, in the progress of the Reformation, whose favourers had assumed

a steady combination which baffled the whole power of the emperor. Francis showed on this occasion how little he was actuated by purely religious or consistent views, for while he rigorously persecuted the protestants in his own country, he encouraged those of Germany as a handle against the emperor. At the same time, he desired to combine with the Turks, who were then making one of their most formidable inroads on the Hungarian frontier. Francis found an excuse for penetrating into Italy, and another desultory and profitless war was carried on, and concluded by an arrangement negotiated by the queens of France and Hungary. Soon afterwards, the emperor being detained by contrary winds near the French coast, Francis, as if to belie the charges of dishonesty that had been made against him, visited him in his galley. In their personal intercourse some appearance of cordiality was established; and the cautious emperor so far trusted his imperious rival as to pass through France on the way to his Flemish dominions, and become the king's guest in Paris. But this agreement was as fleeting as the others: outrages to his ambassadors drove the French king again to arms, and the novel sight was beheld of a Mussulman and French fleet acting together against the head of the Roman-catholic cause in the Mediterranean. In the year 1544, the French gained one memorable battle at Cerisoles in Italy, but it was worse than profitless. Henry VIII. had quarrelled with Francis after the marriage of the Scottish king to a French princess, and the withdrawal of the troops into Italy enabled him to take Boulogne.

Francis died in 1547. Though his many wars were productive of much misery and of no apparent immediate advantage, yet they probably had the effect of curbing the increasing power of Austria, which, united with so rich and prosperous a country as Spain, seemed likely to subjugate all Europe. Arts and literature flourished in France during this reign; but its close was darkened by the commencing persecutions of the protestants. Some of the most important political acts recorded in this chapter were brought about by women; and, it is observed, that from this period we must date the rise of female influence in the French court.

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The reign of Francis may be regarded as a step between that of Louis XI. and Louis XIV., in establishing the peculiarities of the French social system. Louis deprived the nobility of much of their power, but many of their privileges and distinctions still remained untouched. In the reign of Francis, they were brought more to a social level; they were all gentlemen, and the king used to say, that he was himself only "the first gentleman in France." But this levelling of the nobles had the effect of keeping them more distinct from the other classes. The poorest of them was as far above the peasant or citizen as the highest; and from his reign we may date that class-separation between the aristocracy and the common people which characterized French society before the Revolution.

A.D. } 6. HENRY II.—THE GUISES.—The successor of  
1547. } Francis, his son Henry II., was a man of no mark or ability, and the events of his reign, some of which were of considerable importance, were the deeds of others. A great family now became conspicuous by the power it attained, not so much by the enlargement of its own dominions, as for the services performed by its members to the crown—a circumstance in which we see the beginning of a system that will afterwards be found very prevalent. This was the house of Guise or French Lorraine,—a branch of the sovereign house of Lorraine,—who, coming to France early in the sixteenth century, became connected by marriage with the Bourbon branch of the royal family. Their influence was increased by the marriage of a daughter of their house to James V. of Scotland as his second wife, who also became the mother of Mary, queen of Scots, married to Francis the next heir to the French crown. The Guises possessed talent and courage, a taste for princely magnificence, an unscrupulous advocacy of the religious prejudices of the majority; and, in fine, all the qualities which secure the admiration of a thoughtless people and a thoughtless court. Francis, the head of the house, married a granddaughter of Louis XII. A wound which he had received at the siege of Boulogne by Henry VIII., having left a conspicuous scar on his face, he was called *Balafré* or the scarred, by the populace, who always saw with enthusiasm this mark of his warlike spirit and devotion. Charles,

cardinal of Lorraine, balanced the bravery of his brother by wisdom and sagacity, and these two united, brought a force against the king before which his weak nature would have been bound absolutely to submit. But there were other influences which counterbalanced theirs. Diana of Poitiers, a woman celebrated for her beauty and wit, was the king's mistress, but as she was older than he, her influence over him had something of an almost maternal character. There was still a third influence in the Constable Anne de Montmorency, who represented what is said to be the most ancient of the French houses, which were merely noble without being royal. He was a gallant soldier, who had shared in the victories and misfortunes of Francis; but he was obdurate, harsh, and avaricious, and though wise and brave, was little fitted to rival the Guises in popularity.

7. THE REFORMATION.—The guardians of the young King of England had surrendered Boulogne for a pecuniary consideration, and the disputes both with England and with the other great enemy of France the emperor, proceeded in a languid and uneventful course. In fact, circumstances were now ripening for those fearful religious convulsions which were to shake the country to its foundations. Protestantism had become a power by itself in Germany. In Geneva, where the French language was spoken, and French ideas prevailed, though it owed no allegiance to the King of France, the Reformation had set up its stronghold. Within France itself, it might have been predicted that the reformed doctrines would have a better chance than either in England or Germany. The great Calvin or Cauvin, himself a native of France, had collected a considerable body of followers there before he found it expedient to take refuge in Geneva. Francis I. had occasionally punished the heretics, as they were called, with a sort of reckless severity, despising them rather as a base deluded rabble than hating them as people of an opposite creed. As one means of annoying the empire, the court of France entered into a secret alliance with the protestant league, agreeing to supply it with subsidies to carry on its conflict with the emperor. At the same time, a dispute arose as to the authority of the pope within the French territory, and matters went so far that Francis

A.D.  
1551.

refused to pay the usual ecclesiastical tributes to the papal see. But as if to counterbalance these tendencies, and to show how absolutely the king could require his subjects to be Roman-catholic, while he or his advisers for their own ends advocated protestantism, the laws against heresy were enforced with renewed vigilance and severity. It became criminal to favour in any shape the propagators of the new doctrines; and an inquisition was set up, which, though it had not authority to condemn its victims, who were left to the mercies of the ecclesiastical and criminal courts, yet exercised a formidable power in hunting out and persecuting all who were obnoxious to the bigots of the day.

In 1552, arose the war of the protestant party, headed by Maurice of Saxony, in which Henry of France had agreed to join them against the emperor. It was on this occasion that the celebrated Catherine of Medicis, the wife of the king, and afterwards so terrible a curse to his country, made her first conspicuous appearance in history—she being appointed regent during the absence of her husband with the army. The most signal act of the war, so far as the French were concerned, was the capture of Metz, a place of great strength and large population, which, as belonging to the Austrasian part of Charlemagne's dominion, had come under the authority of Austria. When Henry lost his ally, Maurice, who made his peace with the emperor in the treaty of Passau as a preliminary of the peace of Augsburg, France directed her energies to the defence of Metz, which was effectually retained by the able soldiership of the Duke of Guise. This acquisition helped forward to the completion of the French kingdom. In some other instances advantages were gained by the imperialists, but generally the war was not an eventful one, and its most important features were connected with the capture and defence of this single city. It brought, however, many mortifications on the emperor, now a man stricken in years, who had exercised a vast power, and ruled many great events in history, so far as they are under the influence of human efforts. He soon afterwards astonished Europe more than by any of his achievements in arms or politics, when he resigned his authority both in Germany and Spain, and spent the remainder of his days in a monastic retreat.



8. Charles's abdication considerably raised the position of France as a European power, since it divided the empire from Spain, and these two nations, both of them at that time powerful, were thus no longer under one ruler. The French reaped the advantage of this immediately, by a five years' truce on favourable terms, during which they  
 A.D. } held Savoy and Metz, with their other conquests in  
 1555. } Lorraine. One of the divided powers, however, was strengthened in another direction. Philip II., king of Spain, had married Mary, queen of England, and that country thus became the ally of the great Roman-catholic power, and of a king who, like his wife, thought it his sacred duty to exercise every kind of coercion and cruelty against those who were not of his own church. The war with Spain soon broke out again, and one of its most important achievements was the siege of St Quentin, a town in the heart of France, and of which the Admiral Coligny was governor. An army under the orders of the aged Constable Montmorency undertook to raise the siege; but it was almost entirely cut to pieces in a marsh where it had been rashly encamped, the Duke d'Enghien and the flower of the French  
 A.D. } nobility being among the slain, and the constable with  
 1557. } other officers of note being made prisoners. The city was taken, and this untoward event almost immediately followed an inroad which the French had made on Italy, whither they were tempted by the representations of the pope and the intriguing princes. Though led on by the distinguished warrior Guise, it was signally unsuccessful. This popular commander was, however, destined to achieve a triumph peculiarly consoling to the patriotic feelings of France. Boulogne had already been recovered from the English; but this was an acquisition of small importance, as it had not been long in their possession. The project was formed of seizing Calais, which had been an English town for nearly two hundred years. Under the careless rule of Queen Mary its garrison had been neglected, and when very much reduced in numbers during the winter season, Guise  
 A.D. } attacked it vigorously, and restored the city to France  
 1558. } after a few days' siege.

In the meantime, the great religious dispute of the age was ripening. The French courtiers were not, however, very

devout, and with every desire to persecute the protestants, they were so indifferent to actual religion, as to be ignorant that they were surrounded by people of that persuasion. The Cardinal of Lorraine and the rest of the predominant family of the Guises, were startled by the discovery that the Admiral of France, the celebrated Coligny, the nephew of Montmorency, was a protestant, and that many holding that faith were filling high offices in the state, the courts of justice, and the army. This condition of matters was revealed to the court by an event of a purely accidental kind. Some followers of the new faith had met together, when they were attacked by the mob. They were charged, as those who follow peculiar views generally are by ignorant and bigoted persons, with having met together for the perpetration of gross crimes. At length a force arrived to preserve the public peace: the protestants were taken into custody, and among them, to the alarm of the court, were found a number of the highest rank and consideration in Paris. The laws were strict and the populace bitterly prejudiced; but perhaps it would not have been safe to sacrifice so many eminent persons—a few of them, however, were condemned and burned.

9. THE PARLIAMENT.—Large powers were asked from the parliament of Paris, as it was termed, for the suppression of heresy or protestantism. This body, often mentioned in French history, must not be confounded with the English parliament. It was not a body chosen by representation, as the House of Commons—it was not even an independent aristocracy—it was rather a court for the administration of justice. The parliament of Paris did not act for the whole kingdom, though it met in the metropolis; there were various other parliaments, such as that of Rouen, Bordeaux, Dijon, &c. The appointments were generally made by the king, and Francis I. had adopted the vicious system of selling them. The parliament of Paris had, however, a function which was of a national kind; it registered the royal edicts or laws. A king lives in his palace surrounded by flatterers, and however absolute he may be, it is necessary that he should have some means of making his will known to the people who are to obey him. If the parasites and lacqueys of the court were to certify the laws and orders of the government,

it would be difficult to know whether they were genuine or fictitious. Accordingly, even in such a country as France, it was necessary that some respectable permanent body like the parliament of Paris should record the edicts. They sometimes refused to comply, and then the king would go to their hall and enjoin their officers to register his will; and when this happened, the king was said to hold a bed A.D. 1558. of justice. Such a court was held for the purpose of passing measures against the protestants. This was an eventful period in the history of the parliament, because it was assembled along with the states-general, the body which in France has come nearest in its nature to the parliament of England. If the states had met as often as our own parliament, and transacted as much national business, they might have improved from century to century. But they were rarely convoked, and the members were thus unacquainted with business, with their own rights, or with the power which a constitutional assembly can exercise. Their constitution was generally settled by the court rather than by any national privileges, and they transacted no business but such as they were desired to attend to. About the same time, when this change was going on, the king, acting under the advice of his connexions the Guises, behaved towards the parliament of Paris in a manner which was considered worse than despotic because it was perfidious. At a bed of justice he professed to desire the candid opinions of that body on the proper treatment of the new doctrines of the reformers, and they accordingly gave utterance to their opinion. Some of them, deceived by the apparent candour with which they were appealed to, professed themselves favourable to the reformers, and for this reason two of them were put to death.

In the meantime, the war with Spain and England was April 1559. coming to a close, and ended in the peace of Chateau Cambresis. It was considered highly disadvantageous to France, and it was said, not without reason, that the national interests were sacrificed because the king wished again to have the society of his old friend the Constable Montmorency, who had been imprisoned at St Quentin. France remained, however, in possession of Metz and the other conquests of Lorraine, as well as of Calais—sub-

stantial acquisitions near home, while more distant claims in Italy and the dominions of the King of Spain were resigned. By this treaty it was agreed that Elizabeth, the king's daughter, should be married to Philip II. of Spain, now a widower, and Margaret, his daughter, to the Duke of Savoy. These marriages are now chiefly remembered by the tragedy which occurred at the tournament at their celebration. The king, who was fond of such sports, had signalized himself by several passages at arms, and was unwilling to quit the lists without breaking a lance with the Count of Montgomery. The spears used in these warlike games had no points or heads, and it may easily be believed that the person who tilted with the king did not wish to injure him. Unhappily a fragment of the count's lance, which had been shivered in the encounter, pierced Henry's A.D. } vizor, and wounded him so severely in the eye, that 1559. } he died eleven days after, in the forty-second year of his age.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What is the character of the reigns of Charles VIII. and his successors? What did Charles himself accomplish? Whose descendant was Louis XII.? What produced a conflict with the pope? Mention the chivalrous heroes of this reign, and the opinion entertained of them.

2. Give an account of the qualities both in person and mind of Francis I. Who were the great contemporary sovereigns with whom he has been compared? Who were the competitors for the empire? Who were the enemies by whom Francis was encountered at Marignano? Describe the battle.

3. How was the election of the emperor settled? What was the consequence of the election? Whose aid was desired by both competitors? Give an account of the meeting called the Field of the Cloth of Gold. How were its effects obliterated?

4. What was the history of the Constable Bourbon? What did Bayard say to him? What victory did the imperialists gain? Describe the subsequent conduct of Bourbon and the kind of followers he led to the assault on Rome. Under what circumstances did Francis obtain his release?

5. What is the great stain in the history of Francis? What was remarkable in the war that arose from it? What was the position of the reformers? How did Francis act towards them? With whom did he enter into alliance? Mention the other incidents that occurred down to the death of Francis. What was the general character of his reign?

6. Who succeeded Francis? Give an account of the family of the Guises. Who were the principal persons of the family? Mention other quarters from which an influence was exercised over the monarch. Give an account of Montmorency.

7. How might it have been thought the Reformation would get a good footing in France? What place close to France supported it?

Mention an eminent reformer who was a Frenchman. How did Francis act to the protestants? What showed the king's absolute authority over the religion of the people? What part did France take in the German war? What remarkable act did the emperor do?

8. How was the emperor's resignation of advantage to the French? What tended to weigh against it? What achievement did Guise perform to the elevation of France and humiliation of England? What discovery astonished the French court? What important persons were found to be protestants?

9. From what body were powers asked for the suppression of the new doctrines? What sort of bodies were the parliaments of France in comparison with that of England? What peculiar function had the parliament of Paris? What was a bed of justice? How was the parliament of Paris treated about the opinions of the protestants? What peace concluded the war with Spain and England? How was the death of the King of France occasioned?

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## CHAPTER X.

### FROM THE ACCESSION OF FRANCIS II. TO THE DEATH OF HENRY THE FOURTH, A. D. 1559—1610.

Francis II.—Catherine of Medicis—Charles IX.—The Progress of the Reformation—Coligny—Henry of Navarre—The religious Wars—Eve of St Bartholomew—Henry III.—The League—Henry of Navarre—Guise and the Barricades—Henry IV.—Siege of Paris—Edict of Nantes—Sully—The Prince of Condé.

A.D. 1559. } 1. FRANCIS II.—CATHERINE OF MEDICIS.—The accident at a game, mentioned in the last chapter, produced momentous consequences throughout Europe. Henry left a considerable family, and his three elder sons, Francis, Charles, and Henry, successively mounted the throne. Francis was sixteen years old at his accession, and his youth opened to his mother, Catherine of Medicis, the opportunity for playing the deep political game she afterwards pursued. Her object was to acquire power, whether through the Roman-catholics or the protestants, who now began, for some cause not clearly known, to be named Huguenots. On the one side were the Guises, fierce, able, and bigoted. They belonged to the royal family rather by alliance than direct relationship; but they had now a peculiarly strong hold on the court, as their niece, Mary of Scotland, was

Queen of France. On the other hand were the real princes of the blood—the King of Navarre, and his brother the Prince of Condé, who had with them the Constable Montmorency and the Admiral Coligny. But the King of Navarre was feeble and hesitating, and when he came to court found the Guises already in possession of the ruling power. This decided the queen-mother, and daring steps were now resolved on to crush the new party however highly protected. The Huguenots themselves, however, commenced the conflict by a conspiracy to seize on the person of the king, who was living in the custody of the Guises at Amboise; to transfer the boy in fact from one party to the other. The plot was discovered just in time to baffle it: the forces of the conspirators were dispersed, and some inferior agents in the conspiracy were executed; but it was impossible, at least at the commencement, to find sufficient evidence against Condé. In the meantime, the states-general were assembled, and now came the first decided contest for supremacy. Their meeting had been preceded by an assembly of Notables at Fontainebleau, where Coligny presented a petition for liberty of conscience, “which,” he said, “would erelong be signed by 10,000 persons holding the same faith as himself.” “And I will present another,” replied the Duke of Guise, “which 100,000 men, under my orders, shall sign with their blood.”

The states-general met at Orleans with the consent of both parties; and the princes of the blood were invited to be present. The Bourbons selected this meeting as the battle-field on which they might combat the power of the house of Lorraine; but the Guises were not slumbering at this crisis. The Prince of Condé and the King of Navarre were arrested and thrown into prison: the former was condemned to die, and his execution was appointed to take place on the 10th of December, the day on which the states-general were to meet. To frighten the Huguenots by so terrible an example, the punishment of a prince of the blood, the scaffold was to be raised in the hall where the sittings of the states would be held. But the sudden

5th Dec. } death of the king arrested these tyrannical pro-  
1560. } ceedings, and Condé's life was saved.

2. CHARLES IX.—The balance now seemed to lean towards

the protestants. The Guises lost one strong tie to royalty, their niece being no longer queen; and as the new king was a boy only ten years old, the queen-mother got herself appointed regent, while the King of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom. At a meeting of the states-general, the protestants showed great power—almost a preponderance. Another celebrated meeting of the states, held in July, was called the Colloquy of Poissy, because the two parties held a theological discussion in that town, the result of which almost promised to be a reconciliation founded on mutual concessions; but the doctors of the Sorbonne,—an institution always remarkable for adherence to what is old and customary,—interposed to prevent the Roman-catholic party from yielding. In the meantime, a new and severe regulation, called the edict of July, which the states wished to see revoked, was in force against the Huguenots. In the ensuing year, it was softened by an ordinance called the edict of January; but this modification did not content the suffering party, who had now so far increased in strength that their clergymen openly preached to vast congregations, and a considerable army gathered round their leaders. At Orleans, where they established their head-quarters, they were preparing for war with the hope that, as they themselves had been trampled on, so they should be able to tread down their enemies. An incident, however, occurred which greatly disheartened them—the desertion of their cause by the King of Navarre. The year 1562 witnessed many petty conflicts, in which it would be difficult to say which side behaved with the most perfidy and cruelty. Queen Elizabeth, now on the throne of England, heartily espoused the cause of the Huguenots, took possession of Havre, and sent them troops and money. In December, Condé at the head of a small but zealous band advanced on Paris, where he was encountered by Guise and Montmorency. There was a great slaughter, and Montmorency was taken prisoner by the Huguenots and Condé by the Roman-catholics. The two opposing leaders were now the Duke of Guise and the Admiral Coligny. It was only characteristic of the savage nature of the war, that when conducting the siege of Orleans, Guise was waylaid by a person who pretended to

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be a deserter from the Huguenots, and assassinated. The signal losses among their leaders inclined both parties to come to terms, the protestants obtaining certain privileges } by what was called the edict of Amboise. So ended  
 March }  
 1563. } the conflict that has been named the first religious war. But the peace was not arranged on terms that could be lasting, for, instead of the rights and privileges of each party being set forth in one uniform law, the only way in which it was found that the protestants could be dealt with, was by allowing them, like a foreign enemy, to keep certain towns and forts in their own command. Thus, in the greater part of the country, there were protestants struggling against catholic domination, whilst in other places the Roman-catholics were subject to oppression by the protestants.

3. During this stormy period, a good and illustrious man, the Chancellor L'Hopital, gained for himself an immortal reputation by his improvements of the law, and the abolition of cruelties and abuses. In his own day he met with very little sympathy or notice for his benevolent services, for war was again fast fermenting, but a just posterity has vindicated his genius and philanthropy. The privileges conferred by the edict of Amboise were gradually re-  
 A.D. }  
 1567. } tracted, and the Huguenots had recourse again to war. Almost at the commencement of the struggle, Montmorency was slain near Paris. The same uniform savageness and treachery continued to characterize this second struggle, which ended in a peace as hollow as the former. The third religious war was remarkable from its calling out the illustrious Henry IV. then Prince of Bearn, who joined the Huguenots with 3000 men. His presence, and that of his heroic mother, inspired a new confidence into the protestant troops, who were dispirited by the death of their great popular leader Condé at the beginning of the conflict. Meanwhile the young King of France, as he advanced towards manhood, showed symptoms of a disposition singularly cruel, malignant, bigoted, and treacherous. Anticipating from these qualities the system he would adopt, his mother allied herself entirely to it. She was as cruel and treacherous as her son, although not so bigoted; but she could easily pretend to a zeal she did not possess. It was now clear that the protestants were not to be put down in



open warfare, and recourse must be had to treachery. A new treaty was adopted in which they were allowed better conditions than they had previously obtained. Instead of its terms being gradually infringed, every disposition towards a cordial union with their old enemies was shown by the king and his mother. A marriage was proposed between Henry of Bearn, now King of Navarre, and the king's sister Margaret. Nothing could be so natural a conclusion of all feuds and animosities, since Henry was likely to be the next heir to the throne. But the chief blandishments of the court were lavished on the Admiral Coligny. The manner in which the young king gained his confidence showed profound art, for he appeared to seek a great leader to conduct some vast foreign enterprise, and Coligny was both by inclination and capacity the man to give brilliant success to the arms of France. They seemed to have been enemies only because they did not know each other's good qualities. A strong mutual attachment appeared to have sprung up between them; they were inseparable, and everything seemed so sincere, that the king could even joke about his horrible designs, saying, "Ah, admiral, now we have secured you, you shall not so easily get away." The coming royal marriage was an event which would naturally fill Paris with the nobility, and there was nothing suspicious in the principal Huguenot gentry being present at the auspicious event. The marriage was celebrated with great festivities on the 17th August 1572.

4. ST BARTHOLOMEW.—On the 21st, as the admiral was sauntering along a street reading a letter, he was wounded in two places by a shot from a window. The king professed great indignation at this outrage, and indeed it appears to have been a premature commencement likely to mar the great design. The evening of the 24th of August, the festival of St Bartholomew, was fixed for finally settling all accounts between Romanism and protestantism. Having given their instructions to the assassins, Charles with his mother and brother sat during the hot summer evening at a window of the Louvre, waiting with the nervous anxiety of mingled guilt and hate for the sound of the first murderous shot. Young Guise, the unworthy son of a haughty but heroic father, headed the principal band of

assassins. The first care was to despatch the wounded Coligny. "Respect my gray hairs," he said, as the murderers burst into his apartment, but they answered him with the dagger, and Guise, who was afraid to strike, wiped the blood from his face, to see that he had attacked the right man, and that he was quite dead. The body was subjected to insults, such as nations of cannibals might be supposed to inflict on their vanquished enemies, and the king participated in them with hearty enjoyment. The Roman-catholics were distinguished on that occasion by crosses in their caps and images of the virgin; and all who were not so decorated were slain without compunction—men, women, and children of the tenderest years. During that terrible night, Paris resounded with the discharge of fire-arms, shrieks, and groans, while loud over all boomed the great bell called the tocsin. The king himself from his window fired an occasional shot, and was vexed to find that the fugitives were generally too far off for the range of his gun. No one was to be spared but the members of the royal family—the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé. Neither insignificance nor eminence was any protection; and among other victims were counted Peter Ramus, the eminent professor of philosophy; La Place, the historian; and Ferriers, a celebrated lawyer. Royal missives were sent directing the example of Paris to be followed throughout all the towns of France. No one has been able to calculate the number who fell at the massacre of St Bartholomew; and the statements of historians vary as much as from 30,000 to 100,000. There is no doubt that the monstrous act, intended to extinguish protestantism, injured the church of Rome, and furthered the cause of the Reformation more than all the zealous exertions of Queen Elizabeth, who in a moderate way was herself oppressing the Roman-catholics. Though paralyzed at the moment, indeed, the remaining Huguenots speedily gained strength, and fortifying themselves in Rochelle and Montauban, committed great havoc on the catholic hosts sent to dispossess them. When the excitement of slaughter was over, even the hardened conscience of the king gave way to nervous tremors. Blood flowed from the pores of his skin, and in the morning he would be found bathed with this horrible sweat. This

singular disease, which the reformers considered an immediate visitation of providence, and the phantoms of his  
 May } numerous victims which hovered round his bed, hur-  
 1574 } ried Charles IX. to an early and an unhonoured grave.

HENRY III.—He was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Anjou, a prince who had given early promise of greatness, but whose court became one of the most trifling, and at the same time most frightfully demoralized, that had ever disgraced France. While he passed his time in licentious pleasures, Henry of Navarre, who had found means of returning to his own people, was strengthening his party and gaining high reputation, notwithstanding his domestic unhappiness, for the wife he had brought from Paris was an infamous woman—more scandalous in some features of her character than Catherine of Medicis herself. Her flagrant intrigues were in themselves the cause of a short war, A.D. } called the War of the Lovers, which served to in-  
 1580. } crease her husband's experience and reputation.

5. THE LEAGUE.—A body called the *Politiques* had formed itself in the meantime, consisting of men who were not Huguenots, but who yet objected to the savage war of extermination as impolitic. Through this influence and the indolence of the court, the protestant interest began to revive. The great focus of exterminating bigotry was in the ferocious rabble of Paris, and to concentrate their energies, the Romish leaders united them by a systematic combination, which afterwards obtained the name of the *League*. This body set up Guise not only as their head, but in a manner their idol, and it soon appeared that they desired to interrupt the hereditary succession, and advance him to the crown. Having remained for some years dormant but not extinct, they entered into an alliance, formidable to A.D. } protestantism, with the King of Spain. Part of this  
 1585. } arrangement was to keep Henry of Navarre from the throne, and raise to it the Cardinal of Bourbon, who was the only catholic of that family. Guise now commanded a considerable army: town after town was taken, and it was clear that the king must either side with them or with the Huguenots, for the moderate party were insufficient as a support. He at last consented to become the head of the League.

HENRY OF NAVARRE was now the great hope and refuge

of protestantism—its only leader both in council and war. His kingdom was small and poor, but it counted many hardy mountaineers. With all his efforts, however, he could not bring above 5000 men together to meet the overwhelming hosts of the League; but these were all picked men, and enthusiastic in the cause. A curious war was now carried on between these unequal forces, for Henry was enabled by the hardships which his troops could undergo, and by their agility and skill, to elude the numerous army sent against him—cross the country in various ways, and annoy the enemy in quarters where they least expected him. At last he risked a battle at Coutras near Bordeaux, in which he encountered an army of courtiers and hirelings, led by one of the king's worthless favourites, and gained a signal  
 A.D. } victory through the skill and valour of his own little  
 1587. } band.

GUISE AND THE BARRICADES.—But there was a new element of discord and disturbance arising. As the king did not satisfy the League for zeal and energy; and as they still found in Guise their thorough unscrupulous champion, their factious anger was increased at seeing him passed over, while honours and rewards were conferred on contemptible favourites. The citizens of Paris, still the furious partisans of Guise, invited him to the capital to dethrone their worthless king; and he accordingly entered Paris with an army,  
 A.D. } but with what ultimate views is not known. His  
 1588. } proceedings, however, were singular, for the first person he waited upon was Catherine of Medicis, who proposed to accompany him to the court. When the king heard of this strange visit, he was at a loss to decide whether it were one of defiance or submission; but a quick method of solving all difficulties was proposed in the assassination of the duke. Whether it was the roar of the populace outside or some other cause that prevented the act from being perpetrated, Guise saw that it was intended, felt the danger he had escaped, and now resolved to keep no terms with the king. He appealed to the citizens, who erected barricades across the streets, made of stones, earth, old casks, and other lumber—a favourite and often repeated method of warfare in Paris.

The king fled to Rouen. This did not, however, put the

rebels in possession of the capital, for the citizens, startled by their position, were inclined to moderation. The affair turned out something like the old disputes in England, when popular and constitutional principles were appealed to by Simon de Montfort. Like him, Guise appealed to a parliament or meeting of the states-general. When they

Oct. } assembled, it soon became evident that he was  
1568. } supreme in their councils, and that a battle for empire would be fought between him and the king. The latter adopted the usual recourse of the age—assassination. He summoned a council, so hastily and so early in the day, that his victim would not readily be prepared against any attempt. The room was filled with trusty persons in the king's interest, and when he saw by whom he was surrounded, the conspirator turned pale and asked for a restoring draught. As he was lifting a curtain to pass into the king's chamber, the assassins pressed on him and stabbed him in many places. His brother, the cardinal, was conveyed to prison, where he was secretly despatched. So fell the great promoters of the massacre of St Bartholomew. It was the natural order of things that one crime should breed another, and that those who passed their lives in the midst of blood should die violent deaths; but this was no palliation of the king's guilt. To complete the circle another murder had yet to be committed. The fanatic citizens of Paris, roused to fury by the death of their great catholic leaders, shut their gates against the king. Henry was reluctantly compelled to take the assistance of Henry of Navarre, and the capital was invested by an army. Within the city, the priests incited the people to vengeance, and many hints were given that the king himself was its proper object. Among other devices, an image of him was made of wax, and the people were desired to prick it with pins, in the belief that each pin stuck in the wax was so much torture to the body it represented. But more effective means were adopted by the sister of the Guises, the Duchess of Montpensier; for at her instigation, Jacques Clement, a gloomy zealous monk of the order of St Dominic, obtained access to the king under pretence of delivering despatches,

2d Aug. } and stabbed him in his bed, where he died next  
1589. } day.

6. HENRY IV.—The Valois branch of the Capet family was now extinct in the male line, and the next heir, according to hereditary rule and the salic law, was Henry of Navarre, the head of the Bourbon branch of the family, and descended like the Valois branch from St Louis. The friends of hereditary monarchy, which had now become a fixed principle, could not deny the claims of Henry IV., though many of them were tempted by religious considerations to oppose them. Had Guise been alive, it would have been a doubtful matter whether the great Henry should rule in France. Even as it was, the struggle was arduous. The Duke of Mayenne, at the head of the League, endeavouring to depart as little as possible from the hereditary line, proclaimed Henry's uncle, the Cardinal of Bourbon, as king. Henry gained immortal fame by the endurance and the heroic courage with which he kept not only in existence but victorious his small but devoted band of followers. By partaking in their hardships and privations, and treating them as brothers in arms, he inspired them with a chivalrous devotion. Many of his hearty, brave, inspiring sentences, issued at this period, were devoutly preserved. Thus, having by signal valour gained a victory against fearful odds, he wrote to one of his most faithful adherents, saying, "Hang thyself, brave Crillon, we have fought at Arques, and thou wert not there." "Follow my white plume: you will find it ever on the road to honour and victory," was the order given by him before a conflict which decided the fate of France. This

A.D. } was the renowned battle of Ivry, in which the en-  
1590. } thusiasm and discipline of Henry's followers made him triumphant over the larger force of his enemies.

He afterwards invested Paris, the inhabitants of which were subjected to such horrors of famine as are rarely recorded even in the annals of war, women it was said having eaten their own offspring; and yet the determined fanaticism of the citizens made them continue resolute to resist. It was on this occasion that Henry showed some of his generous peculiarities: he not only allowed the women and children to leave the city, but permitted provisions to be carried in. Thus by his humanity he enabled the besieged to hold out; and the League being helped by a Spanish force, under the

celebrated Prince of Parma, his cause again seemed desperate. The Cardinal of Bourbon had now died, and the King of Spain was struggling for the nullification of the salic law, and for his daughter being declared queen in right of her mother Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II., who was believed to have been murdered, by the husband who so adopted her daughter's claims.

In the year 1593, the states-general assembled at Paris; the most important meeting that had been held there for centuries, since its object was to decide on a successor to the crown. The extreme party of the League were for the Spanish succession, and intrigues were in progress to find a suitable husband for the young queen. Many catholics were sorely distracted by their hereditary and their religious prepossessions, and fervently wished that the king would embrace their faith. It was now that Henry determined on the great act of his life—one that has been strongly condemned and as strongly applauded. He agreed to recant his protestant opinions and enter the bosom of the Romish church. It is impossible to know how far conscience may have influenced this act; but, although he professed to have grave doubts about the soundness of his protestant opinions, and consulted many divines before he threw them off, it is to be feared that ambition was the chief ingredient in his motives. The act, however, had its desired effect. The partisans of the League gradually dropped off, and on a day ever memorable, the 22d of March 1594, Henry the Great entered the capital of his dominions, where he bade the Spanish troops depart in peace, and never let him see them more. A few years of desultory warfare followed this event, as some places still held out for the League. The Spaniards invaded the coast; and at one time the protestants were at feud with their old leader, who they thought had thrown himself too unreservedly into the hands of the Roman-catholics.

7. EDICT OF NANTES.—The year 1598 became memorable not only by the treaty of Vervins concluded with Spain, but by the great charter of liberties to the protestants of France—the edict of Nantes. It was founded on a consultation with the representatives of the Huguenots held in that town. Its principal conditions were: liberty to the

protestants to follow their own worship, and to meet and manage their own ecclesiastical affairs. In all law questions in which they were concerned, they were to have representatives on the judicial bench, and, according to the old system, certain towns were left at their command as a security for their privileges.

SULLY.—The power of Henry, now established in peace, was devoted to the service of the country. He had the good fortune to secure in early life a companion and adviser of much wisdom and genius, who, by sharing in his perils, showed himself to be no less valiant than wise. This was the celebrated Duke of Sully, Maximilian de Bethune,—a member of the same family from which the Cardinal Beaton, so celebrated in Scottish history, descended. Sully was a rigid economist, and a strict administrator of justice. Under his management, the old wasteful system of the court was reformed; debts were paid, money was saved, and taxes were remitted. When the nobles oppressed the common people, they were restrained and punished with a strong hand, and sometimes when the aristocracy of a district had carried on a long career of oppression with impunity, a royal commission of inquiry would suddenly alight among them, inquire into the grievances of the suffering inhabitants, and do summary justice.

Yet it has been said, and not without reason, that the reign of Henry did nearly as much as that of his mean and wicked predecessor Louis XI. to establish a despotism in France. In England, the great hold on the power of the crown has always been the necessity of appealing to the people for money. It sometimes was the same in France, but the sagacious economy of Sully rendered it unnecessary to make such appeals, or even to summon states-general or other representative bodies, who, while they gave supplies, complained of grievances. The assembling of parliaments thus fell, as we shall find, into complete disuse. The nobles, although highly respected, were allowed to retain but little power. Feeling that their former influence was gradually slipping from them and becoming centred in the crown, they combined to make one last effort for the restoration of the whole of their ancient feudal authority. Their principal demand was, that those who governed provinces



should be entitled to retain them as fiefs, and transmit them to their descendants—an arrangement that would have carried France back to its state in the thirteenth century. Their desire being peremptorily refused, some of the nobles, with the Marischal of Biron at their head, conspired to aid the Spanish sovereign in his attempts on France, but were defeated; and the king signalized himself no less by the skill with which he baffled all their attempts than the generosity with which he treated the culprits.

8. Henry IV. had certainly many great qualities, but after all it must be admitted, that the extravagant praises bestowed on him are a bitter satire on the morality of his age. We have seen how indifferently he regarded religion; and indeed to the people this indifference was fortunate, since it probably saved them from persecution. His private life would in this day be counted extremely licentious; and his illicit amours were an object more of ostentation than shame or concealment. His mistress, the fair Gabrielle, was a distinguished and even respected personage, and people considered him praiseworthy in his devotion to her, which they excused on the ground of his unhappy marriage with an infamous though very clever woman. Certainly after her death his morals became still more irregular, and an incident connected with his peculiar weakness clouded the lustre of his latter days.

When fifty-six years of age, the king became fascinated by a young beauty, who had not passed her twentieth year, the daughter of Montmorency. She had many suitors, but gave her preference and was married to the Prince of Condé. Henry appeared to act a generous part to the young couple, and was profuse in his gifts and attentions; but these and the insinuations of some of his friends made Condé jealous, and he escaped with his bride into the dominions of the King of Spain. The king was agitated and angry to an extent which his ministers had not seen ex-  
 A.D. } hibited by him in his greatest disasters; and he made  
 1609. } extensive preparations for a war with Spain. It has been said that this was an object which he would then have pursued independently of any personal motive; but, on the other hand, it was charged against him, that he was ready to deluge Europe in blood for a fair face and the gratifica-

tion of a guilty passion. He saw that his conduct could not well be vindicated from this charge, and became melancholy and desponding. On the 14th of May 1610, still oppressed by the same gloom which was supposed by the superstitious to forebode evil, he set off to visit Sully, who was confined by illness. As his coach was passing through a narrow street, in which it was interrupted by two carts, a fanatic named Ravallac, standing on the carriage step, and stretching his body within it, stabbed the king to the heart. From being the enemy of the Parisians, he had become their idol, and at the news of his death the whole city displayed the frantic grief of a family deprived of its most beloved member.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What was the character of Catherine of Medicis? What were the protestants called? Who were the heads of the chief parties? What was named the conspiracy of Amboise? How did the conflict between the religious parties commence? What example was intended to frighten the Huguenots?

2. What event weakened the power of the Guises? What was termed the Colloquy? What edicts were passed? Give an account of the first religious war. What was the nature of the peace which followed it?

3. What distinguished reformer of the laws appeared during the wars? What was the character of the religious wars? What hero arose during the third war? What character did the young king develop? What treacherous arrangements were made?

4. What happened to the Admiral Coligny? Give an account of the massacre of St Bartholomew. What was its effect upon religion? What was the character of Henry III.? How did that of Henry of Navarre contrast with it?

5. Who were called the *Politiques*? What constituted the focus of bigotry? What position did Guise occupy? What was his object as to the succession to the throne? Who was the great hope of protestantism? How did Henry conduct the war? Give an account of the affair of the Barricades. To what authority did Guise appeal? Give an account of the murder of Guise. What was the king's own fate?

6. Who succeeded to the throne? How were the friends of hereditary monarchy perplexed? Whom did the League proclaim king? What was Henry's character as a warlike leader? What signal victory did he gain? Give an account of the siege of Paris. What important meeting took place at Paris? What great change of opinion did Henry profess? What was its result?

7. When was the edict of Nantes passed? What were its chief provisions? Who was Sully? How did he manage the business of the state? What effect is the good government of this reign supposed to have had in strengthening the crown? What attempt did the nobles make?

8. What were the blemishes in Henry's character? How did the French treat them? What event gave him peculiar irritation? What war did he prepare for? Give an account of the manner of his death.

## CHAPTER XI.

## LOUIS XIII. AND LOUIS XIV., A. D. 1610—1714.

Louis XIII.—States-general—Richelieu—Siege of Rochelle—Made-moiselle La Fayette—Louis XIV.—The Great Condé—Peace of Westphalia—The Parliaments—Mazarin—The Fronde—De Retz—Condé—Colbert—The Dutch War—Turenne—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Spanish Succession—Marlborough—Treaty of Utrecht.

1. LOUIS XIII.—The successor of the great Henry, his  
 A. D. } son Louis XIII. being only nine years old when  
 1610-1643. } he ascended the throne, the government was at  
 first conducted by his mother, Mary of Medicis, Henry's  
 A. D. } second wife. Early in this reign the states-general  
 614. } were assembled: it was the last meeting of this body  
 until its memorable convocation, a hundred and seventy-four  
 years afterwards, and the matter would have scarcely been  
 noticeable in history had not the statesmen of the Revolution  
 examined with extreme anxiety every thing that had  
 been said and done on this occasion.

RICHELIEU.—The most signal circumstance, however, of  
 this reign was the predominance of Cardinal Richelieu.  
 He was a man of varied talents, but his great absorbing  
 power was the art of influencing others either by force or  
 persuasion, as suited his object,—the art, in short, of govern-  
 ing. In former reigns the nobility were humbled and made  
 submissive to the king: it was for Richelieu to make them  
 submissive to the king's minister. He carried out his prin-  
 ciple against the highest in the land; and the queen-mother,  
 with her younger son Gaston of Orleans, who had defied his  
 power, were forced into submission. He triumphed over  
 every obstacle, and evaded a well-laid scheme for his assas-  
 sination. The prince, under colour of doing him the hon-  
 our to dine with him, proposed to take a train of conspira-  
 tors to the cardinal's house, and there attack and slay him.  
 Richelieu, however, obtained information of their intentions,

and showed a master's hand in the manner in which he met the emergency. Just as the conspirators were approaching, he set off and waited on the prince, thanking him for the honour he had intended to confer on him, and assuring his royal highness that he abandoned the whole house to his service, and would not obtrude his own presence. The conspirators saw that all was discovered, and thought it well if they escaped his vengeance. The court of France, during this reign, had been a mere arena of petty intrigues and quarrels among worthless favourites; it was when the A.D. } cardinal's genius began to exercise complete sway that  
1624. } the position of the government became truly historical.

THE HUGUENOTS AND ROCHELLE.—One of Richelieu's main objects was to put down the power of the Huguenots, in which he professed to see something very dangerous to the safety of France as a regular government. The position in which they were placed by the edict of Nantes was certainly a peculiar one. They had got towns and fortresses in their possession, and at the same time they were entitled to hold assemblies. Thus, they had something like an independent parliament, while the representative body of the catholics, the states-general, could only be assembled by the king's authority. Indeed the French protestants seemed as it were to be separating themselves into a distinct nation and government, which acquired from the representative assemblies something of a republican cast. A much less severe and sagacious statesman than Richelieu would have seen that this was incompatible with a kingly authority like that of France, and he resolved to take measures for the suppression of the temporal power of the Huguenots. To this end he proceeded to deprive them of their places of strength. Their principal fortress, the capital it might be called of French protestantism, was the strong town of Rochelle, on the western coast. Here the battle that finally decided the position of the protestants in France was to be fought. It was strongly fortified, and the garrison was brave and zealous. Richelieu showed on this occasion the great resources of his inventive genius. As the chief reliance of the besieged was in assistance expected from England by sea, he resolved to raise a mole or rampart across the mouth of the harbour, such as ships could not pass.

The engineers ridiculed the project as preposterous ; but in four months the mole was completed, and the entrance to the port so effectually closed, that an English fleet returned without being able to enter. After holding out for <sup>26th Nov. 1628.</sup> thirteen months, through a frightful famine which carried off more than two-thirds of its inhabitants, the town was subdued.

2. But Richelieu's enmity to the protestants was rather political than fanatical. He deprived them of their fortresses, and of the means of holding assemblies for political purposes, but allowed them to remain in the exercise of their religion, and the management of their ecclesiastical affairs. One of the minister's favourite projects, carried on with much adroitness and perseverance, was the humbling of the house of Austria, then the most formidable reigning family in Europe. To accomplish this, he supported the great protestant party which was opposed to the empire ; and for much of his success he was indebted to that of the protestant hero Gustavus Adolphus. It has even been said, on probable grounds, that he contributed to the civil wars of England by stirring up the Covenanters against Charles I. The Duke of Orleans had sought refuge from the vengeance of the minister in Lorraine. This formed an excuse for attacking the dukedom, but there was another reason of a more important character for doing so, that, though the inhabitants were chiefly French in their origin, it was a state of Germany holding of the empire. It was subdued, and a large portion of it annexed to France, thus serving materially to consolidate the French dominions. He was equally successful in his projects against the neighbouring province of Alsace,—a territory inhabited by a German race, who still speak their original language. It was not finally annexed to France until after Richelieu's death ; but the foundations of the French power on the Rhine were laid by him.

**MADemoisELLE LA FAYETTE.**—After having maintained his ascendancy through many dangers, he encountered the greatest of all when his own career, as well as that of his monarch, was drawing to a close. The king had formed an attachment to a young lady, Mademoiselle La Fayette, whose character was so different from that of the female

favourites of French kings in general, that she retired to a convent, and only spoke with her royal lover through the grating. She instigated him against the cardinal, and her influence was joined by that of the king's confessor, and the queen, Anne of Austria. The king, as unprincipled as he was feeble, could find no better means of relieving himself from thralldom than by countenancing a plan of assassination devised by two young men who entertained a bitter hatred against the cardinal, Cinq-Mars and De Thou. The tyrant minister now felt his position truly perilous; for, with the king opposed to him, he must bring some stronger accusation against them than their intentions regarding himself. He was so fortunate as to discover that they had entered into a treasonable correspondence with Olivarez, the prime-minister of Spain, a man in many respects like himself in ambition, power, and ability. This enabled him at once to act, and the feeble monarch, brought over to his side, might be said to betray his accomplices to justice, which A.D. 1642. } was executed on them with circumstances of great ignominy. The proud cardinal had now completed the circle of his triumphs—he had trampled on the king himself. Before the end of the same year, he brought the king to converse with him when he was on his deathbed, and attempted to rule posterity by making arrangements for the government of the country during the minority which was likely to follow the death of Louis. He was stern, vindictive, and haughty to the last, even to his sovereign. The defects of this remarkable man's character are seen in his history; but, like our own Cardinal Wolsey, he had some of the good qualities of ambition. His exertions were all for the kingdom over which he ruled, and he entertained no small projects of enrichment or family aggrandizement. He wished to see every institution in the country flourish, provided it owed its prosperity to *him*. In 1635, he founded the celebrated French Academy. He was a liberal patron of letters, and to his princely encouragement we owe, in great measure, the birth and growth of the literature which came to full maturity in the succeeding reign. Louis, who did not long survive his stern guide, died on the 14th of May 1643.

3. LOUIS XIV. was scarcely five years old when he began

A.D. } that long reign which has been characterized as "the  
1643. } most brilliant in the history of France." An anecdote of his childhood has been preserved in illustration of his proud and aspiring character. When his sick father playfully asked him what his name was, he answered, "Louis the Fourteenth." "No—not yet, not yet," was the reply of the feeble monarch, who was thus reminded too familiarly that his place was about to be filled up. The reign of the infant king began in glory. Rocroi, in Picardy, being besieged by the Spanish general Albuquerque, the young Duke of Enghien, afterwards better known as the Prince of Condé, went with a small force to its relief. He was in a manner but the nominal leader, on account of his princely rank, being but a youth of twenty-two years of age, and an experienced general was chosen as his adviser. He resolved, however, to follow the dictates of his own genius and impetuosity, and gained a signal victory just five days after the death of Louis XIII. This battle gave a shock to the military character and power of Spain from which it never fully recovered, and at once made the young conqueror the idol of the court and people. This event was followed by the battle of Fribourg, in which Condé and the celebrated Turenne defeated the Austrians, and by other achievements of minor importance.

PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.—The year 1648 was a memorable one for the whole continent of Europe,—in the arrangement of the several treaties which constituted the peace of Westphalia, described by Chesterfield as "the foundation of all subsequent treaties." It settled the several claims of protestantism and catholicism in Germany, and thus measured off the separate protestant states which were afterwards the chief means of creating the great kingdom of Prussia. The recent victories of the French enabled them to make advantageous terms on this occasion, and to permanently annex the province of Alsace, and secure their footing in Lorraine.

THE PARLIAMENTS.—It will have easily been seen that the progress of politics in France tended in its whole course to make a complete despotism, that is, to throw the entire power of the state into the hands of the king, or of those appointed by him. Sometimes the power of the nobility

had served to counterbalance that of the king ; sometimes it was the power of the priesthood ; sometimes that of the representatives of the people in the states-general ; on other occasions the Huguenots were able to offer considerable resistance to the crown. A new body was now to come into the field, and make the final struggle against despotic authority. Richelieu may be said to have extinguished the last vestiges of the power of the nobility and of the representatives of the people. But it is scarcely possible to suppress an influential body in the state without some other taking up part at least of its functions. As the states-general were no longer convoked, the magisterial bodies called the parliaments endeavoured to extend their authority. They were not only to be judges, but as it was necessary for all laws to pass through some official body, they claimed the right of promulgating them, and at the same time a right of refusing to do so, which was equivalent to a refusal to allow them to pass. The strong hand of Richelieu would have perhaps put down such a pretension. He was succeeded by the wily but less firm Mazarin, who, being a foreigner, did not know sufficiently, at least for a time, the political elements with which he had to deal. The first difficulty which the parliament created made their body popular,—it was against an edict for levying a tax on houses in Paris. Mazarin yielded in some measure, but the mistake of permitting the parliament to maintain the popular side had already been committed. The president and one

Aug. } of the councillors of the parliament were seized by  
1648. } Mazarin's orders and imprisoned.

4. THE FRONDE.—This caused disturbances in the streets, which terminated in the civil war of the Fronde. The word *fronde* means a sling. The most fearful riots have sometimes had their beginning in the fights of boys, in which men have gradually joined ; and it is said that the Fronde took its name because it began with boys throwing stones with slings. But it is more probable that it arose from the abettors of the parliament being called *frondeurs*, which not only means slingers, but also scoffers or jeerers. When the quarrel came to a height, the nobility, who scorned such a rabble, and looked down even on the parliament, saw that they might make a handle of this outbreak, and



many of the chief men and women of the country attached themselves to the Fronde. Among the most conspicuous of them, were the Prince of Conti, the Dukes of Beaufort, Vendome, and Nemours, Marshal Turenne, and the Duchess of Longueville.

DE RETZ.—It would be impossible to give in a short space a clear account of all the shiftings and changes of this trifling war; and whoever wishes to hear them amusingly told, and at length, should read the memoirs of the Cardinal De Retz. This man, a dignified clergyman, but without any religion, who had lived a life of profligacy in his youth, and of wild political intrigue in his maturity, was the soul of the conflict, and directed it to his own ends. Intriguing women had a main influence in the war; and, indeed, the most trifling and fantastic notions regulated the conduct of the leaders on both sides. It was in every respect a striking contrast to the serious struggle between republicanism and monarchy then going on in England. Trifling, however, as were the motives, the minister was put at defiance, as well as the Queen-dowager Anne of Austria, who had a stronger will than Mazarin. A second time the streets of Paris were rendered impregnable by barricades, and the queen and her son were compelled, in bitter humiliation, to leave the capital, where the parliament reigned for a time supreme.

CONDÉ.—Of all the men of eminence who figured in this conflict, the conduct of the great Condé was the most fantastic, capricious, and egotistical. He amused both parties, and allowed himself to be courted by each in its turn. He was, however, so far committed at last to the royal cause, as to be sent to lay siege to the rebellious city. One of the divisions usual to such bodies, between the extreme and the moderate portion, arose. This opportunity of reconciliation was taken advantage of, and Condé brought  
A.D. }  
1649. } back the king and the minister. The war seemed now at an end, but Condé, ever restless and ambitious, was discontented in some way with the acknowledgment of his services, and resolved to make the court suffer. He was seized and imprisoned. His release was the object of long and varied negotiations, and when he obtained it he resuscitated the war in a more formidable shape. He marched

an army to the gates of the capital, that he might have the assistance of the Parisian rabble. The royalist party met him with a resistance which was for some time effectual. A curious incident, such as could have occurred in no other war but the Fronde, changed the aspect of the conflict. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, out of sympathy with the gallant prince, not only seduced the guards to open the gate of St Antoine, by which he and his army entered, but directed the can-  
 A.D. } non of the Bastille against the royal troops. The  
 1652. } rabble joined the prince, but the councillors of the parliament, for whom the contest was begun, and the respectable citizens, shunned him. Their moderation and firmness exposed them to the wrath of the populace, and many of them were slaughtered in the guild-hall by the mob and Condé's soldiers. The prince, finding no advantage in being at the head of a city deserted by all its respectable inhabitants, at last, like the Constable Bourbon, discarded all claim to the character of patriotism, and once more entered the service of the King of Spain, for whom he fought several battles against his countrymen. The court now returned in strength, and resolved effectually to humble  
 A.D. } the parliament, by issuing an edict registered by that  
 1652. } body itself, depriving it of a voice in state affairs. So was suppressed the last attempt to check the progress of pure despotism in France.

5. These domestic events were followed by a desultory war of some years; more remarkable for the military skill displayed by the rivals, Turenne and Condé, than for the battles won or lost. Notwithstanding the high royalist principles predominant in France, Mazarin was wise enough to court the alliance of Cromwell, whose assistance mainly contributed to the advantages of France in the war. It was at length concluded by the treaty of the Pyrenees, in which  
 A.D. } such cessions were made to France as rendered the  
 1659. } kingdom more compact, and brought it nearly to its present size. A matrimonial alliance was a main object of  
 A.D. } the treaty, and next year the nuptials of Louis XIV.  
 1660. } to the Infanta of Spain were celebrated with the utmost magnificence.

In the year following Mazarin died. The conquest of the

crown over all the opposing elements—the nobility—the church—the states-general, and the parliament, had now been completed, partly by the exertions of able kings, but more by the genius of ministers of great capacity. The work was now perfected, and the haughty young monarch took an early opportunity after the cardinal's death to state in council that he no longer would allow any one to have the rank and power of prime-minister; but would hold all in his own hands, employing such people as he thought fit to act under him. He was fortunate in his choice of a man to correct past errors in the most serious branch of the whole administration.

COLBERT.—The public revenue and expenditure had been allowed by Fouquet, the superintendent of finance, to fall into sad disorder, and the king appointed the celebrated Colbert as his successor. This able man soon corrected many abuses, and produced a free revenue out of what his predecessor would have made the cause of more debt. The monarch pursued a course much in accordance with French taste, which reconciled the people to a pure despotism.

DUTCH WAR.—Hitherto the wars of the French had been confined to themselves, or had arisen out of quarrels and misunderstandings with neighbouring nations. Each province had its own peculiar disputes, which sometimes involved the country at large; but Louis introduced a new national passion—that of enlarging the territory of the French king. He picked a quarrel with Spain, on the professed ground of his wife's claims as a Spanish princess. But as the war was chiefly conducted in the Spanish Netherlands, the Dutch, finding it coming too near themselves, checked it by  
 A. D. } the triple alliance, in which they leagued with Eng-  
 1668. } land and Sweden. The Dutch were an industrious and persevering people, of simple habits, who granted toleration in religion, and endeavoured to provide for their poor. That a humble people, following useful and benevolent pursuits, should have successfully baffled him, was a bitter thought to the magnificent Louis, and he resolved to crush Holland. Through the worthless Charles II. he  
 A. D. } found the means of diverting England from the triple  
 1672. } alliance to countenance a war with the Dutch. The troops of Louis, with the celebrated Turenne as their chief,

took town after town, the people still remaining, however, in quiet but determined resistance. Their principal city, Amsterdam, being insulated by its canals, defied the conqueror. In the meantime the protestant continental states began to show an active sympathy with the sturdy Dutch, and the English people forced their monarch to abandon the offensive alliance. Turenne and Condé were at the same time opposed by a young leader, not so brilliant or so well experienced in war, but with resources for carrying on a long patient conflict, deeper than either of them possessed, or perhaps imagined—William, prince of Orange. The war proceeded chiefly on the side of Germany; the principal successes being attributable not so much to the fiery and somewhat reckless genius of Condé, as to the care and skill of Turenne. On the death of this great general, near Stras-  
 27th July } burg, the fortunes of the French received a con-  
 1675. } siderable check. But though the ordinary military commanders who succeeded him were inferior, France had still a man of wonderful genius in another department of warfare. This was Vauban, an engineer who had formed and matured totally new views on the attack and defence of fortified places. He took fortress after fortress in the Netherlands, a country so long cursed as the battle-field of European conflicts, that it has been called “the classic land of fortified defence.” The treaty of Nimeguen left Vauban’s genius free to change from the taking to the strengthening of fortresses. Before this treaty was concluded, France had made advances which still in some degree enlarged while it rounded off her frontier. It is gratifying to observe, that the indolent despotic monarchy of Spain was the chief  
 A.D. } loser by this treaty; and that the Dutch, against  
 1678. } whom the war was directed, had through all the severe attacks to which they were subjected, come forth as a nation uninjured.

6. REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.—Although a man of impure morals, and in his early life at least of little religion, Louis thought it necessary to be a bigot and a persecutor. He hated all opposition; and as the protestants dissented from the court religion, he resolved not to  
 A.D. } tolerate them in France. Hence came his celebrated  
 1685. } revocation of the edict of Nantes, which had secured

certain privileges to the protestants in the reign of Henry IV. Those who differ in opinion from the ruling majority are generally earnest in their belief, and become accustomed to consider and weigh all their actions. Hence small sects are often among the most valuable members of society. So it was with the French Huguenots, and thus the revocation drove out of the country many hundreds of thousands of its most valuable citizens. They went to Holland and other protestant states, but chiefly to England, where, from their sobriety, steadiness, and good education, they were a valuable acquisition. The Spitalfields weavers were a colony of these tradesmen; and the family of Romilly, which has produced more than one eminent man, may be cited as an instance of the high character of the French refugees.

Louis, notwithstanding the peace of Nimeguen, continued to make attacks on his smaller neighbours here and there, and to filch portions of their territory. He paid little regard to treaties, and believed himself to be above their observance, and too powerful to suffer from their infringement. Indeed it had become the fashion in France to treat him in some respects like a deity, whose conduct was not to be judged by human laws, and who made any action right by doing it. But he was mistaken in believing that he could not be punished even in this world. In the young Prince of Orange, a vigilant eye was watching his motions, and seeking for an opportunity to arm a counterbalancing power against him. He soon found the opportunity. As the revolution of Britain approached, Louis, much alarmed, endeavoured to warn King James, or to aid him in keeping

A.D. 1688. } his crown, but it was in vain. With the vast re-  
sources of the British empire at his command, Wil-  
liam was a very different antagonist from what he was as  
the mere governor of the small territory of Holland. The  
empire and Spain wisely joined him. A general war broke  
out, in which the maritime powers were victorious by sea,  
A.D. 1692. } the English fleet gaining the great battle of La Hogue;  
but on land Louis had made prodigious prepara-  
tions, which could not fail to secure success at the com-  
mencement of the war. He took several towns, and over-  
ran the Palatinate, the inhabitants of which he treated with  
a cruelty almost unexampled in civilized warfare. The

war went on till all parties were tired of its devastations, A.D. } and were glad to conclude the treaty of Ryswick. It  
1697. } was remarkable for the advantageous terms obtained by the Spaniards; but Louis had an object in securing their good opinion, for he was now aiming at the attachment of their territory to that of France by the succession to the crown.

7. SPANISH SUCCESSION.—In 1665, Louis had married the Infanta of Spain, Maria Theresa. It had been a condition that none of the descendants of this marriage should succeed to the Spanish throne, but this, like many other stipulations, availed little with Louis. His brother-in-law, the feeble King of Spain, died in 1700, without children, and it then became a great question for all Europe, what descendant of his female relations should reign over his vast dominions. The King of France so far restrained his pretensions, however, as not to insist that both monarchies should descend to the same person. Thus, instead of the dauphin, heir to the crown of France, he proposed that Philip, duke of Anjou, the second son of the dauphin, should be King of Spain. This arrangement was opposed by Austria, for the Emperor Leopold had married the younger sister of Maria Theresa, and it was proposed that his second son, Charles, should represent her claims, thought to be preferable from the condition, that by stipulation the descendants of the elder sister were not to succeed. The poor King of Spain, on his deathbed, was persecuted by every variety of intrigue to name a successor, and at last he left a will in favour of the Duke of Anjou. Founding on this, Louis immediately took measures to secure the succession to his grandson, while Philip, the son of the emperor, was proclaimed at Madrid. So began the war of the Spanish Succession. William III. of England, with other European princes, desired that the vast empire ruled by the King of Spain should be divided. Louis stood out for its integrity, yet, in the course of the contest, he showed evidently that he designed to take possession of the Spanish Netherlands and make them part of France. In Spain itself the war went on with varied success for thirteen years, when it ended in the establishment of the Bourbons on the throne. The French gained many signal victories under the command of the

Duke of Berwick, the natural son of the exiled King of England. It was in the course of this long conflict that Britain obtained the important fortress of Gibraltar.

MARLBOROUGH.—Elsewhere the war soon became disastrous to the arms of Louis. The great captain of the age, the Duke of Marlborough, showed a military skill, a coolness, and a power of combination, against which the bravest and most enthusiastic commanders of France wasted their natural impetuosity in vain. Almost at the commencement of hostilities, he gained the decided victory of 16th Aug. } Blenheim, on the banks of the Danube. This was  
1704. } followed by the successes of Ramilies and Malplaquet; while in the meantime fortress after fortress was torn from the grasp of Louis, who, now old and discontented by the loss of his early pleasures, was thus doomed to suffer for the pride and profligate ambition of previous years. Stung, probably, by conscientious reproaches, he became austere and monkish; and the court changed its former gaiety and licence for silence and mortification. If his selfishness allowed him to feel for any beyond himself, he had also the pain of knowing that his costly wars had drained the energies of the country to the last dregs, and that frightful famines were sweeping away the people. The fate of France seemed to be sealed in 1711, when Marlborough broke through the frontier line of defence, and entered the French territory with his victorious troops.

8. TREATY OF UTRECHT.—But his arm was suddenly arrested by intrigues at home. A waiting-maid of Queen Anne had risen to so much influence that the ministry was changed; and the new cabinet, adopting a policy averse to Marlborough's, resolved to bring the war to an end. After A.D. } long protracted negotiation, the celebrated treaty of  
1713. } Utrecht was signed, in which France obtained better terms than her crippled condition would have entitled her to claim.

Louis died at the age of seventy-seven, two years after A.D. } this transaction. He had been in the early part of  
1715. } his reign what the French call a glorious monarch. We do not desire in Britain that our kings should be glorious, so much as that their subjects should be indus-

trious and happy ; and it is fortunate that our rulers have in general adopted the same principle. Louis XIV. completed the long line of operations by which the government of France was made a despotism, the king being all-powerful and quite irresponsible. Like the other French sovereigns, from the fifteenth century to the reign of his successor, he raised his mistresses to a prominent position in the administration of the business of the nation. One of these ladies was the widow of Scarron the poet, a man remarkable for his ugliness, and not of the very highest order of genius. Madame de Maintenon, for such is her name in history, followed a line of conduct very different from that of the other women of humble rank who had attracted the attention of the French kings. She insisted on being his wife before she agreed to live with him, and Louis contracted a private marriage with her, which reconciled her to the connexion, because she considered herself his wife, though it did not make her the Queen of France. The influence she exercised over his mind was great and beneficial. The selfish and arrogant character of the monarch was in some measure palliated by his last illness, when he was conscious that he was a poor frail human being, about to be laid with his kindred dust. He then showed patience, courage, and magnanimity ; and if he had not been surrounded by interested flatterers, perhaps he might have manifested these virtues earlier.

During his reign France made rapid progress in literature and the arts. It saw the three greatest dramatic authors whom the French nation have possessed, Corneille, Racine, and Molière, the last worthy to be counted among the most eminent in the world. The characters he drew were not merely comic imitations of peculiar people belonging to his own age and nation ; they have been acknowledged to represent passions belonging to all times and all nations. Architecture and the decoration of buildings made so much progress during this reign, that a certain style in these arts is known as that of Louis XIV.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What is the character of the reign of Louis XIII. ? What event in the early part of it became noticeable long afterwards ? Give an account of Cardinal Richelieu ; his character, his abilities, and his policy. Mention a characteristic instance of his ability to baffle his enemies.



What was the position of the Huguenots? What policy did Richelieu pursue regarding them? Give an account of the siege of Rochelle.

2. What was the nature of Richelieu's dislike of the protestants? How did he show it to be purely political? What occurred as to Lorraine and Alsace? Give an account of the conduct of Mademoiselle La Fayette. What plots were devised against the cardinal, and how did he escape them? What did he attempt on his deathbed? Mention some peculiarities of his character and conduct.

3. Mention an anecdote characteristic of the childhood of Louis XIV. Mention a battle gained by a young prince, and its effect on Spain. What took place affecting the condition of Europe in the year 1648? Describe the progress of the French system of politics. Who succeeded Richelieu in pursuing it? How did he act towards the parliaments?

4. Mention the sources from which the war of the Fronde is supposed to have derived its name. Where is the best account of the war to be found? Who was De Retz? What was the character of this war when compared with the great civil war in England? Give an account of the character and proceedings of Condé. What was done by Mademoiselle de Montpensier? What course did the Prince of Condé afterwards follow?

5. What was remarkable in the foreign war which followed the Fronde? Whose alliance did Mazarin court? When was the treaty of the Pyrenees concluded? What alliance followed it? How did Louis act after the death of Mazarin? Who was Colbert? Describe the conduct of Louis XIV. towards the Dutch. What great generals were concerned in the German and Dutch war? What celebrated military engineer appeared at this time? What was the effect of the treaty of Nimeguen?

6. How did Louis XIV. conduct himself as to those who differed from him on religious matters? What edict was revoked? What was the effect of the revocation? How did Louis treat the small states near his dominions? What prince set himself to watch his efforts? What gave him power to counteract them? What war was concluded by the peace of Ryswick?

7. Describe the manner in which the French claim to the Spanish succession arose. What other claim was there? How did Louis act on the subject of the dismemberment of the Spanish dominions? What were the qualifications of the Duke of Marlborough for effectually opposing the French generals? What victories did he gain? What was the character of the French court in the old age of Louis XIV.?

8. What checked the career of Marlborough? When was the treaty of Utrecht concluded? Mention some features characteristic of the reign of Louis XIV. Give an account of Madame de Maintenon. Mention some of the celebrated men of letters who flourished in this reign.

## CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS XV. TO THE RECALL OF  
NECKER, A. D. 1714—1788.

Louis XV.—The Regent Orleans—Law and the Mississippi Scheme—War of the Austrian Succession—Jesuits and Jansenists—Madame de Pompadour—The Philosophers—The Dauphin—Louis XVI.—Maria Antoinette—Maurepas—Turgot—Repeal of the Internal Corn Laws—Malesherbes—Lettres de Cachet—St Germain—Necker—American War—Naval War—Gibraltar—Debts—The Diamond Necklace—The King and Queen—Vergennes—Calonne—The Notables—Brienne—Resistance of Parliament—Bed of Justice—New Courts—Anglo-mania.

1. LOUIS XV.—The long reign of Louis XV. is generally passed over hastily, from impatience to enter on the important events of the next. The progress of the country towards an absolute despotism had been completed when Louis XIV. proclaimed his intention of governing without a minister. The working of the system was now to be seen, and in this sense the reign of his successor is interesting as an exhibition of the state of matters which led to the Revolution.

Such had been the mortality among the legitimate descendants of Louis XIV., that he was succeeded by his great-grandson, a mere child, under the guardianship of his uncle, Philip, duke of Orleans, the grandfather of King Louis Philippe. While other persons have devoted their utmost ingenuity to discover how the world may be made virtuous, the regent exhausted his in inventing new forms of vice. None of the immoral kings of France had heretofore displayed such systematic and horrible profligacy. Yet he was not destitute of talent: he attended in some measure to the business of the nation, and made strenuous efforts to redeem the country from the ruinous effects of the wars and extravagance of the previous reign.

2. MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.—One of his plans for accomplish-

ing this end was singularly unfortunate. It was suggested by a Scottish gentleman named Law, the proprietor of Lauriston, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, who tempted the regent by proposing a method for paying off the national debt. This was to be done by bank-notes; but before the creditors would be satisfied with the notes, it was necessary that they should be valuable, or at least that the creditors should think so. To accomplish this, some great monopolies of commerce were united with the bank, which would thus have the exclusive privilege of certain trading operations in India, Africa, and America. There happened just at this time to be a mania for colonization, and Law seized upon this opportunity to connect his national bank of discount and circulation with a commercial company to be founded on the banks of the Mississippi. This was the germ of the West India Company, with a capital of a hundred millions of francs, represented by two hundred thousand shares of five hundred francs each. These were to be procured by paying one-fourth in money, and the remaining three-fourths in paper notes corresponding to our exchequer bills. This scheme raised the value both of the shares and of the bills: mysterious hints were circulated about the extraordinary profits that would be made, and especially about the discovery of some rich mines of gold—a sure bait to attract the foolish public, who generally in the end find gold-digging the most un-  
A.D. 1720.
profitable of all occupations. The French caught madly at the scheme; and all classes were so intensely anxious to participate in the enormous profits to be made, that the value of stock rose every day, until it reached the incredible amount of more than 2000 per cent. That is to say, for such a share in the probable advantages of the company as was originally estimated at £100, people were ready to pay more than £2000. The shareholders were impatient to realize their expected profits, but none appeared: at length came a panic. There were no more purchasers, but every one wanted to sell; so that the prices of the shares sank still more rapidly than they had risen. The government was obliged to interfere to preserve some remnant of their property to the unfortunate partners, but very little could be saved from the universal wreck. And yet this

evil was not unmixed with good. Immense estates in the centre and south of France changed hands; the new land-owners, being in the possession of capital, gave fresh vigour to agriculture; the spirit of enterprise seized on all classes of society, and the power of association—of joint-stock companies—till then unknown, was indicated by new and daring combinations, of which our present monetary operations are but imitations. Had the court been less prodigal, the public debt would have been considerably reduced by the payment of part of the state-creditors; and the lowering of the rate of interest would soon have facilitated the reimbursement of the others.

The wretched condition of France was exhibited at this time by the breaking out of the plague at Marseilles. It has not appeared in England since the reign of Charles II., owing to the improvements in towns and dwelling-houses; and the appearance of such a visitation showed France to be at least half a century behind this country. Its ravages were so frightful that the physicians gave up any attempts to stay it, and the dead could not be buried. At the death  
 A.D. } of the Duke of Orleans, hastened by his vices, the  
 1723. } king, though still a boy, was of age by the custom of France, and for a short period the country was ruled by a prime-minister, the Duke of Bourbon, a man of moderate character and capacity. He was succeeded by Cardinal Fleury, a benevolent, peaceful, and worthy person. France had been for an unusual time free from wars, when in 1734 it had a dispute with Austria about the succession to Poland, which the King of France desired to secure to his father-in-law Stanislaus. In the course of the war which followed, the French made signally successful campaigns in Italy and on the Rhine, where the imperialists were frequently beaten  
 A.D. } by them. Hostilities were concluded by the treaty  
 1738. } of Vienna, in which Stanislaus, instead of Poland, received the provinces of Bar and German Lorraine, with the condition that they should be annexed to France at his death. At the same time, France undertook a very important engagement called the Pragmatic Sanction. The emperor had no male children, and as there were some of his dominions to which females would not succeed in the regular order, this treaty stipulated that the parties were

not to allow any such partition to take place, but to see that his daughter succeeded to the entire empire.

A.D. } 3. WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.—The sin-  
1740. } cerity of the parties to this treaty was soon tested by the death of the emperor, when the French monarch unblushingly took part against his daughter Maria Theresa, and supported the Elector of Bavaria. A general European war was the result, in which England was opposed to France. It was conducted with various success. At Dettingen, the A.D. } French and their allies were defeated by an army  
1743. } under the command of George II. At Fontenoy, however, where the celebrated Marshal Saxe commanded the French, and the Duke of Cumberland, celebrated for his cruelties, was at the head of the English army, the French after a doubtful conflict, which at one time seemed A.D. } against them, were victorious. The war was con-  
1748. } cluded by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed by France, England, and Holland. It provided generally for the restitution of conquests, and England exacted a provision that the Pretender, who had just returned from his unsuccessful invasion, should not be harboured in France.

France had colonized a considerable portion of America : settlements had been made by her in the East Indies and in several parts of the world. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, there arose many questions between the government of France and Britain as to the boundaries of their several possessions. A war ensued, which was destructive to the colonial empire of France, and produced corresponding advantages to Britain. It has been often said that the support of colonies wastes the energies of Britain ; but there is no doubt that France showed herself ever since this war incapable of holding such distant possessions. In the East Indies it had been for some time a question whether France or England was to be supreme. Under Dupleix and Lally, two men of brilliant rather than solid qualities, the French appeared to be carrying all before them ; but when the perseverance of Britain became successful, their native allies turned to the winning side, and in the end their capital in India, Pondicherry, was wrested from them, and A.D. } their power nearly extinguished. When the war  
1763. } came to an end, and the treaty of Paris was signed,

Britain retained the greater part of her conquests in other parts of the world, but France had to give up the islands of Grenada, St Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, with Cape Breton, and the neighbouring territory in the American continent, forming a great portion of the present provinces of Canada.

**JESUITS AND JANSENISTS.**—In the meantime, France was strongly convulsed by religious disputes. Though the Huguenots had been long suppressed, the Roman-catholic church suffered probably more distraction from a body who professed to belong to itself—the Jansenists, between whom and the Jesuits there was a fierce controversy, which ended, long after the Jansenists had disappeared from the public disputation, in the expulsion A.D. }  
1764. } of the Jesuits, as dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

**4. POMPADOUR.**—In the meantime, the king, whose mind had been corrupted by his tutor, made his court the centre of vice and profligacy, instead of the place where the serious business of the nation ought to have been transacted. It would be a useless and offensive task to speak of all his mistresses. One of them, however, Madame de Pompadour, exercised more influence than the king himself, or any other individual in France, on the politics of the time, and therefore cannot be passed over. We have seen that the whole power of the state came to be centered in the king, and that it was sometimes transferred to his minister. In the reign of Louis XV., the final degradation of the court was accomplished by its being transferred to the king's mistress. The whole destinies of France and the peace of Europe were in the hands of Madame de Pompadour. She had every public office at her disposal. She could dismiss the ablest minister, and appoint any person she thought fit in his stead. She could declare war, and could assign the terms which the country would hold by in treaties with the rest of Europe. Yet she was not the worst person of the same kind who had such an influence. Notwithstanding her position, she had a certain degree of nobleness in her nature, and knew far more about political business than the king and some of his ministers. She gave men of real knowledge and ability, who did service to the public, such encourage-

ment, that the reader of the history of the period can only regret that there was not a better means of bringing them forward for the public service. She was favourably contrasted by contemporaries and by historians with her successor Madame du Barri, who had none of her talents or good principles, and who was one of the most degraded creatures that could have been found in the vicious capital of France. She had influence enough to make the king dismiss the Duke of Choiseul, one of the ablest and most honest of his ministers, because he would not pay her court. This event was followed by a series of edicts, depriving the parliaments of their privileges, and driving the members into exile—for these too had become troublesome and offensive to the monarch and his paramour.

5. THE PHILOSOPHERS.—The vices of the court were daily showing the people that the system of government was ill adapted to promote their welfare, and at the same time a body of the cleverest men whom the world has ever seen were labouring to teach the same great truth. Voltaire, the head of French literature, and indeed it may be said of that of Europe at the time, propagated principles which, by confounding religion with the abuses of arbitrary government, unfortunately led men to believe the one to be an abuse like the other. Even in that age of high monarchical principles, he was so powerful that he held something like a court of his own. Nor was he alone: the wild, enthusiastic, and unprincipled Rousseau, Helvetius, D'Alembert, Holbach, Diderot, and others, were courted by the high nobility, while they maintained doctrines which proved the monarchy and the aristocracy of France to be great evils. The king and his mistresses, and the aristocracy, who now had nothing to do but to wait on the court for places, did not, however, believe it possible that the doctrines they applauded could ever come into practice: in the next reign they were awakened from their fond dream. The worthless life of the king ended on the 10th May 1774. As his body went fast to corruption, no surgeon would embalm it, and it is recorded that the sound of the courtiers rushing from his bedside, to pay court to his successor, attracted the attention of people in the neighbourhood, and seemed to them like distant thunder. He

died unregretted, and his hasty funeral was disturbed by riot and bloodshed.

6. **LOUIS XVI. AND MARIA ANTOINETTE.**—The young king was only twenty years of age when he ascended that throne which proved so fatal to him, and which his two brothers successively filled. His father, the dauphin, eldest son of Louis XV., had died in 1765, to the regret of all good men, who saw in his unaffected piety and liberal mind an omen of better days to their country. He lived long enough to give a proper direction to the studies of his son, who, four years before his accession, had married Maria Antoinette, archduchess of Austria, daughter of Francis I., emperor of Germany, and of that celebrated empress Maria Theresa, the great opponent of Frederick the Great. The daughter, renowned for her resplendent beauty and her stately presence, succeeded to the mother's firmness of mind, and had too many sad opportunities of showing it. She was but sixteen years old when she proceeded to Paris a happy wife; and on her way throngs and processions of joyous people welcomed her with pageants, music, and flowers. The capital was in a joyful excitement; but even the loyal eagerness of the multitude caused a terrible calamity, and it was afterwards remarked by superstitious people, that evil omens attended this fascinating and highborn woman from the beginning, for she was born on the day of the great earthquake at Lisbon, and her wedding festival was stained with blood. There was an exhibition of fireworks in the square of Louis XV. The arrangements for keeping off the crowd were insufficient, and they pressed on the scaffold where the exhibition was to take place and overthrew it, igniting the rockets and other fireworks, which plunged and hissed among the people, driving them away. Others at a distance, not knowing the dangerous cause of their departure, thrust onwards, and thus a terrible crush took place, in which about 200 persons were killed on the spot, and many more were mortally injured.

A.D. } **MAUREPAS.**—When Louis mounted the throne, he  
1774 } placed at the head of the government Maurepas, who had been banished twenty years before for satirizing Madame de Pompadour. He was a well-meaning man; but



he was old, and having been long absent from Paris, he did not know the changes that had taken place in the state of the country, and was therefore ill fitted to meet them. Among the other ministers, the excellent Turgot was put at the head of the finances, where he had a difficult task to perform; for, on the one hand, the courtiers were demanding money to feed their extravagance; and, on the other, the people cried out that they were starving.

The young king, who loved virtue, immediately banished from the court all those profligate men and women whose presence had disgraced it during the previous reign: this of itself caused a great diminution in the royal expenditure. Both he and his queen resigned some exactions to which the monarchs of France considered themselves entitled when they ascended the throne, and thus they both achieved great temporary popularity. The exile of the parliaments had been extremely unpopular. The relations and ministers of the late king objected strongly to their being recalled. Maurepas, Turgot, and the other new ministers were, however, eager for their restoration, and it was at last accomplished. Some people consider that this was the first step of the French revolution, because it was the first concession to the popular will; that is to say, it was the first time that the court to please the people had revoked an act done by itself.

7. TURGOT.—In the meantime, Turgot set himself vigorously to reform the financial and other abuses. His principle was the simple but severe one of keeping the expenditure of the nation within its income—of avoiding new debts, and saving money to pay off those which had already been contracted. He was so rigorous in his reductions, that during the nineteen months of his ministry he paid off debts amounting to four millions of pounds in our money without increasing the taxes. But in the course of this retrenchment, he made bitter enemies of the courtiers, and the farmers of the revenue, who could not excuse him for curtailing their profits, though he gave up a perquisite amounting to about £25,000 to which he was entitled.

REPEAL OF THE INTERNAL CORN LAWS.—He sought at the same time to give room for the natural energy and productiveness of the country by removing restrictions.

Many countries have imposed duties on foreign grain under the supposition that it makes food abundant by encouraging native agriculture, and until lately there was such a restriction in this country known as the Corn Law. In France the principle was carried farther, for each province or county had its own corn law; so that if the people in one valley were manufacturers, and those in the next corn-growers, they could not freely buy and sell with each other. A.D. } Turgot abolished these restrictions, and established  
1774. } free trade in corn in every part of France. It happened that the first harvest after this change was very deficient, there being a great scarcity throughout the continent. The people in their barbarous stupidity attributed their sufferings to the change, and some individuals, whose private interests it hurt, took care to encourage them in this belief. Great mobs assembled, especially in Paris; and while professing to be excited by hunger, they seized on quantities of grain and destroyed it. The military were called to suppress the disturbances, and much blood was shed. It will be remembered that there was a severe scarcity in this country immediately after the repeal of the corn laws, but the conduct of the people, better instructed, was of a very different kind.

Turgot wished to carry his reforms still farther. He desired to see the local laws modified, and one general code drawn up for the whole country. He proposed to abolish the oppressive feudal exactions, by which the peasantry were bound to do service to the aristocracy—especially the *corvées*, or obligations to repair the roads. There were many market dues, and other payments of a like kind, which he thought detrimental to commerce; and there were peculiar privileges of exercising trades and professions, carried to an extent which it would now be difficult to believe: these also he hoped to abolish. To A.D. } accomplish a part of his objects, he introduced his  
1776. } celebrated six edicts; but the persons who had an interest in supporting the abuses were numerous and powerful, and the people at large were too little acquainted with the advantages of his projects to give them any support; hence he met with such resistance that his edicts were defeated, and he was driven from power.

8. MALESHERBES.—Turgot had as a coadjutor the minister of the interior, the celebrated Malesherbes, afterwards the defender of Louis XVI. The two ministers thought alike on many subjects; but Malesherbes was a lawyer, and the reforms he proposed were in his own department, and of a less sweeping character than those of his colleague. He so far restricted the atrocious system of the *lettres de cachet*, or sealed letters for imprisoning persons without trial, that he prevailed with the king to issue none without the advice of his responsible minister; and he proposed that there should be a tribunal established, before which every person seized under these secret warrants should be entitled to be heard. He visited the state prisons, and released a number of their inmates. It was probably owing to these proceedings that the captors of the Bastille, thirteen years afterwards, found so few victims within it. He proposed to abolish torture, to restore the religious freedom of the Edict of Nantes, and to encourage representative assemblies.

ST GERMAIN.—A third member of this ministry, the Count de St Germain, also attempted wide reforms in his own department—that of the army. He saw that the money obtained by a multitude of officers was devoted, not to the efficacy of the army and the defence of the country, but to provide for the poor aristocracy, who would not condescend to follow other employments. He therefore resolved to retrench this expenditure, and at the same time to reduce the most expensive part of the army, the household troops, or musketeers, a body celebrated for their domineering and oppressive insolence to the people. Some of St Germain's reforms were unfortunate. He proposed a system of discipline and punishment which hurt the feelings of the common soldiers; but it was not for this that he was driven from power. The interested opposition of the aristocracy, little dreaming of what was to come, forced  
 17th March, } the three reformers from office. Malesherbes  
 30th April. } resigned early in the year 1776; Turgot followed, and St Germain held a merely nominal authority till the autumn. The defeat of Turgot's projects was effected by the combined opposition of the court, the aristocracy, and the parliaments. A few years later, as one by one they fell under the storm of the revolution, they had

reason to repent of this arrogant selfishness. They then remembered that, if reforms had been carried firmly and moderately, before the people had been taught to distrust the court and to hate the aristocracy, the calamities that followed might have been averted.

NECKER.—The successors of Turgot for a short time endeavoured to preserve the privileges of the nobility; and not long after his retirement, the celebrated Necker, without being raised to the rank of comptroller-general, was employed in the management of the finances. The raising and spending of the revenue constituted at that time the most important department of the government, but it was the most difficult and laborious; and therefore the aristocracy did not care to undertake it, and perhaps, if they had done so, would not have been found very fit for the task. But though the duty was so important and so difficult, the person appointed to fulfil it was denied the rank of a councillor, for he was in reality a man who made figures his profession. He was a plain citizen of Geneva, who had become a member of a banking firm in Paris: he was at the same time a Protestant. His main object was to meet the pecuniary difficulties of the country by successful loans. He did not adopt the wide philosophical views of Turgot: he was, in fact, supposed to be a more practical man for not doing so; and as his profession accustomed him to figures, the government thought they were safe in his hands. He, however, adopted an arrangement, learned by him in his profession, which gave the court and aristocracy more uneasiness even than Turgot's bold projects. He published an account of the receipts and expenditure of the revenue, observing that prudent people would not lend their money to the government, unless they were made acquainted with the amount that was raised, and the manner in which it was expended. Nothing could, however, have been better calculated to annoy and terrify the great swarm of courtiers and useless officials on whom the public funds were spent, and Necker encountered their determined hostility for the exposure. At the same time he showed a decided disposition to subject the privileged classes to taxation. Before he was driven from power by the enemies he had thus made, he, however,

performed an important administrative act. In the various provinces, local bodies or states had arranged the division of the taxes among the people. In some places where such states had not existed by custom, provincial assemblies were created. They consisted of nobles, clergy, and city and rural commons, thus forming nominally four classes, but in reality two, since, though the nobles and clergy were distinct, the city and country representatives had but one interest, as belonging to the unprivileged classes. It was arranged that the members for the nobility and clergy should together number no more than those from the commons, who, as one united body, were equal to both the others. This arrangement was afterwards referred to when the momentous division of the states-general, which will soon have to be described, took place.

9. WAR IN AMERICA.—In the meantime, the government had taken a step which certainly had a great effect in causing the first French Revolution. Those British colonies which now form the United States of America were carrying on the War of Independence, in which they were finally triumphant. Looking to the revolt of the Americans merely as a fortunate accident which injured Britain, the ministry showed a disposition to aid the champions of liberty. As soon as their cause promised to be successful,

30th Oct. }  
1778. } the French government concluded a treaty with the colonists. The Americans were republicans fighting against their monarch; and it will at once be seen, now that we know what France has passed through, how imprudent it was for her government to assist them. But at that time the court and aristocracy felt so secure of their position, that they would have laughed to scorn any one who told them that they, in their turn, would have to give way to popular demands. Benjamin Franklin, dressed as an American farmer, was received with enthusiasm by the fashionable aristocracy of France as the ambassador of his fellow-countrymen. They cheered him when he talked republicanism. Once playing chess in public, he was observed to remove the king from the board, and deliberately put it in his pocket. "See," he said, "the side without a king shall win." This was just fourteen years before his admiring audience were themselves without a king. The

French powerfully aided the Americans with troops and commanders ; some of the flower of the young aristocracy having already gone over to fight for republicanism against monarchy, and among these occur such names as La Fayette, Berthier, Dumas, Noailles, and Lameth, all men who subsequently acquired reputation in France after the outbreak of the Revolution. To join the Americans was of course equivalent to declaring war against Britain. It was almost entirely conducted by sea, except in the East Indies, where the French lost a great part of their possessions—as Chandernagore, Masulipatam, and Pondicherry—while the British were there laying the foundations of their Eastern Empire.

NAVAL WAR.—A French fleet, under the Count d'Orvilliers, with the Duke of Chartres (afterwards Duke of Orleans, the father of Louis Philippe) as one of the officers, encountered a British fleet under Keppel near the Isle of  
 28th July } Ushant. They fought, but without any decided  
 1778. } result on either side. The French succeeded in wresting from Britain several of her West India possessions. While they thus continued successful in minor operations, their career was arrested by one of those British admirals who from time to time have swept the seas. The Count de Grasse was proceeding with a fleet of thirty-four sail to achieve the capture of Jamaica, when he was met near Dominica by Rodney, who compelled him to fight. The English admiral practised the bold operation, so often afterwards adopted by Nelson, of breaking the line. It consisted in this, that instead of the two fleets lying opposite to each other, ship to ship, a few of the English vessels passed through the line of their enemies, and got on the other side of them, so as to place part of their fleet between two lines of hostile vessels, while the other part had no opportunity of fighting. By this method the smaller fleet might sometimes be to the larger as two to one, because part of the large fleet was fighting with vessels on both sides of it, while the other part was not engaged at all. In this manner Rodney gained a signal  
 12th April } victory, taking the magnificent vessel the Ville  
 1782. } de Paris, which the citizens of the capital had presented to Louis XIV.

GIBRALTAR.—France had in this war not only the assistance of the revolted Americans, but that of the Spaniards, with whom an alliance had been formed. The Spanish government naturally had its eye on Gibraltar, and it carried on that memorable siege in which Elliot, the governor of the fortress, gained so high a renown for perseverance, moderation, and skill. In this siege the Spaniards were joined by a French force of 40,000 land troops, together with a fleet of gun-boats, a Frenchman, the Duc de Crillon, who had been successful in the capture of Minorca from the English, taking the command. The assault was conducted with great originality and genius, and would inevitably have been successful had not Elliot possessed peculiar resources fit to cope with his enemy. D'Arçon, a Frenchman, invented gun-boats of an ingenious and very costly kind, in which wet hides, sand, and other materials were employed. The usual shot and shells had no effect on them, but they were destroyed by discharges of balls heated red hot. So confident were the French of carrying the fortress, that two princes of the blood, the Count of Artois, afterwards Charles X., and the Duke of Bourbon, joined Crillon's camp to see its fall. The besiegers, however, were signally baffled.

When the independence of America was acknowledged, peace was proclaimed between France and Britain. The <sup>20th Jan.</sup> <sub>1783.</sub> } treaty was on the whole advantageous to the former, in so far as the conquests in the East were restored, and Senegal and Tobago ceded; but the war had cost an enormous sum of money, and peace found the national resources more crippled than ever. Necker had been the financial minister during a great part of this war; and it has been said that his able management only plunged the nation deeper in debt, for it enabled the government to raise more loans, like a merchant who, appearing to be successful in business, enjoys good credit. In the five years of his administration, he thus added as much as twenty-one millions and two hundred thousand pounds to the national debt. Such was the price which the French government paid for the establishment of republican independence in America. Necker had given great offence by the organization of the provincial assemblies. The aristocracy

began to view his financial schemes with suspicion, and they disliked to see power in the hands of a person of such obscure birth. Wearied out with the labours and annoyances of his position, he resigned his office to Calonne on 19th May 1781. Maurepas, the head of the administration, died not long after, and he was perhaps more missed by the king than his working assistant, for it was the nature of Louis not only to require a minister to be consulted about the affairs of state, but to have a private confidential friend of whom he might seek advice about his general conduct. Such a friend was Maurepas, and he was little else. It was after his death that the queen came into more public notice by in a manner succeeding him. She and the king had hitherto lived estranged,—he now sought her society and affection, and she exercised over him the influence of a strong mind over a weak.

10. MARIE ANTOINETTE.—From the time when she thus became the king's adviser, the queen, who had hitherto been neglected, was followed by crowds of courtiers, just as the mistresses of Louis XV. had been. Her political knowledge could not have been very extensive; all her experience, such as it was, having been gained among a people very different in temper and habits from the French. From the courtiers who followed and flattered her she could only receive the worst possible advice for a monarch about to meet with popular discontents. They were all seekers of places and emoluments,—an aristocracy with many privileges and dignities to separate them from the common people, and yet so poor that they could not live without offices or pensions. Hence they poisoned the queen's ear, and prejudiced her mind in favour of those abuses in the continuance of which they were so much interested.

Marie Antoinette has been highly praised by some, but perhaps there hardly ever lived a woman who was so savagely attacked by others. In the midst of the charges of all sort of crimes made against her, it is difficult to discover what her real conduct was. It is impossible to believe the horrid offences attributed to her by the Jacobins, and even those who fawned to her and flattered her in the days of her glory seem to have made assertions against her character which were not true. Her chief defect appears to have



been intense fondness of pleasure. At the court the queen was looked upon as a person of different mould and existence from the rest of the human race, as something not unlike a living deity. The pomps which thus separate individuals from the world generally surround them with corresponding inconveniences. A rigid etiquette attended all the motions of the queen. Her rising, her dressing, everything she did, had to be done according to some rule or custom. She felt this to be an intolerable yoke, and wished to enjoy her dignity accompanied with pleasure instead of pain. This freedom lowered her in the estimation of the courtiers, while the despotic opinions which they taught her made her odious to the people. Some incidental circumstances served to increase the suspicions and unpopularity under which she suffered. A constitutional restlessness tempted her to have moonlight assemblages of her chosen friends far on in the night on the terraces of her palace gardens at Versailles, and rumour hinted that these assemblages, held when the king fatigued with business, had gone to bed, were an excuse for indecorous intrigues.

A.D. } An incident known in history as the affair of the  
1784. } diamond necklace raised suspicions which she never overcame; and as this unfortunate occurrence, although trivial in itself, increased the swelling tide of discontent against the queen and the throne, it is well worthy of consideration. The Cardinal of Rohan, grand almoner of France, had incurred the queen's serious displeasure during his embassy to Vienna, and on returning to Paris he sought by every means to recover her favour. His notorious weakness easily made him the prey of the Countess de Lamotte, a woman of dissolute life, and a pensioner on the royal bounty. She persuaded the cardinal that she was in daily communication with the queen, showed him letters she pretended to have received from her royal mistress, and at length told him that her majesty, disguised, would meet him at night in the palace garden, and assure him that all would be forgiven. An actress received four thousand livres to personate the queen; and Rohan, entirely deceived, supplied Lamotte with large sums of money, which she alleged were required by the queen for charitable purposes. About six months after this she produced

a letter, in which Marie Antoinette expressed a desire to purchase a diamond necklace, valued at £60,000, which a Paris jeweller had made on a speculation that she would buy it, but which she had declined. The infatuated cardinal procured the necklace, and intrusted it to the countess, who was to carry it to the queen. Through De Rohan's indiscretion, the jeweller learnt that the necklace had been purchased for her majesty; and when he was at Versailles some four or five months after, he took an opportunity of hinting that the payment of his bill for the diamonds would be very acceptable. This led to inquiry and explanation: the cardinal and the countess were immediately sent to the Bastille; but her husband had fled to England with the precious collar. A solemn trial took place: the cardinal was banished to his abbey in Auvergne, and the principal delinquent was condemned to be branded with a red-hot iron, and to hard labour for life. The people, however, knowing the queen to be extravagant and fond of dress, were never thoroughly convinced of her innocence in this matter.

In the year 1778, the queen had given birth to a daughter—afterwards the Duchess D'Angouleme—and an heir to the throne was born in 1781. It was observed to be about this period that she became unpopular, and that her character was malignantly attacked. It was nearly at the same time that she began to take a part in politics as the adviser of her husband; but another cause has been found for the persevering malignity with which she was traduced. The birth of a son materially reduced the chances of the Duke of Orleans mounting the throne, and there was no wickedness of which he was not capable. Soon afterwards the people, attributing to her the *deficit*, as it was termed, in the finances, gave her the nickname of Madam Deficit, and subsequently she was always known by the name of "The Austrian woman."

11. THE KING.—Louis was an innocent and well-meaning man, who would have made an excellent country gentleman, affectionate to his family, kind to his dependants, and hospitable to his friends. At no period could he have been a good monarch for a country like France, and for the terrible times which he witnessed it would have been difficult to find a worse. His defects would not have been

so prominent—if they would have been felt at all—in a constitutional country like this, where everything is done by responsible ministers supported by parliament, and the sovereign scarcely ever interferes with the government. But France required a king who could act with promptitude and skill, and sometimes even with sternness.

His main qualifications were good nature and pliability. He wished to please every one: he would have clothed and fed the suffering millions if he could; but sound institutions and energetic industry only can do this, and he was obliged to limit his generosity to his courtiers, whose comfort and happiness, instead of being an advantage to the people at large, were bought at their expense. Apt to be swayed by every influence, he would first give way to an outrageous mob, when perhaps firmness and resistance would have controlled them, and then, when they had disappeared and all seemed calm, he would yield in the other direction to his courtiers, who were seeking their own selfish ends. Thus neither party could rely on him as a firm courageous partisan, and both accused him of being treacherous when he was only weak and yielding. He was not addicted to any great vice. His chief employment was as innocent as it was insignificant. It was the working of a forge, in which he made small articles of iron like a village blacksmith. The queen, who would fain have seen him devoted to more important and perhaps less harmless occupations, complained of his rough blackened hands; and often afraid to acknowledge that he was pursuing his favourite hobby, he worked at it as secretly as if he had been a guilty tyrant forging chains for his people, instead of a good-natured man amusing himself with trifles. It is important to observe, that this very practice was in the end a great calamity to him, since the wretched workman he employed was tempted, by the inducements held out to him when the Revolution broke out, to charge the king with crimes of which he was altogether innocent.

VERGENNES succeeded Maurepas as the nominal head of the government, but precisely the same difficulty occurred in the finance department as when Turgot was forced to retire. No one could be found competent to fill the place left by Necker. One person was tried after another; but

before the American war came to an end nearly fourteen millions sterling had been borrowed in two years and a half, in addition to the loans raised by Necker, and there was in the national treasury only 360,000 francs or £14,400. Indeed the government had been obliged to declare itself insolvent by suspending payment of some of its obligations.

CALONNE.—It was in these circumstances that Calonne  
 3d Oct. } was put at the head of the finances. Then again  
 1783. } came a reaction and a fallacious appearance of prosperity. He was a clever, pleasing, unscrupulous, and bold man. He certainly did not waste his ability in trifles, but he had not a genius great enough to do bold things well. He commanded confidence, however, at the commencement of his career, and this enabled him to raise loans. The war, with all its extraordinary expenses, was now over. It was contrary to Necker's financial principle to borrow during peace, but Calonne continued the system; and thus well supplied with money, on which he had no foreign drain to support a war, he was enabled to expend more at home. Part of this money was employed in public works, which gave the country an appearance of prosperity by keeping the working classes employed. Instead of retrenching the usual expenditure, which had been Necker's policy, he increased it, and all the hungry aristocracy were delighted with the financier, who, far from attempting to tax them, sent more of the public money in their way. He enabled the court to resume its old expensive pageantry and its gorgeous entertainments; and from the queen downwards every one connected with the palaces and the public offices was delighted with the system of the new minister. When a man is borrowing money and freely spending it he appears to be rich. But a day of reckoning must arrive, for neither nations nor individuals can borrow for ever. During little more than three years of peace Calonne had borrowed three hundred and eighty millions of francs, amounting to fifteen millions and two hundred thousand pounds sterling. The whole debt accumulated since the retirement of Necker amounted to about sixty-four millions sterling, and every year the revenue was four millions and a half less than the expenditure.

Calonne was not a timid man to shrink from difficulties.

Having exhausted the bold scheme of annual borrowing, he now adopted the still bolder and certainly more honest plan of looking the whole difficulties of the nation in the face, and applying for help to an assembly of the Notables or chief persons of the kingdom. Such an assemblage was then believed to be in accordance with ancient usage.

12. THE NOTABLES.—On the 22d of February 1787 the Notables assembled. They were not a constitutional body chosen by or in any way representing the people at large or any section of them, but were selected by the court, and consisted of the persons whose interests and sympathy were with the court and aristocracy. They amounted to 144 members, including princes of the blood, the high nobility, archbishops, and bishops, presidents of parliament, the law officers of the crown, and other persons of a like kind. These were the men who had hitherto derived profit and importance from the extravagance of Calonne, and who enjoyed an exemption from the ordinary burdens on the people. He now proposed to turn the tables on them, desiring them to give up their privileges and join in an equal project of taxation, which would enable him to lighten some of the burdens on the common people, particularly the gabelle or salt tax, which was as oppressive as it was unpopular; and he told his hearers that in the removal of their privileges he expected to find a mine of riches which would satisfy the wants of the nation and remove a stain from its institutions.

The assembly, thus called on to make a sacrifice, received the proposal with a perfect storm of anger and reproach. When this burst of wrath had in some measure cooled down, the opposition took a more insidious ground. The nobles and clergy desired that it might be seen how far there were other resources that might be drawn on before their privileges were affected, and, appearing to yield, raised practical difficulties which were insuperable, although the king advocated the projects of his minister. At the same time Calonne was attacked from another quarter. He had endeavoured, for the purpose of justifying or concealing his own extravagance, to detract from the merit of Necker. That statesman defended himself with some bitterness, and his followers of the school of the economists

espoused his cause, loudly censuring the profligate extravagance which had so greatly increased the debt in time of peace. The dispute was partly silenced by the minister's obtaining the banishment of Necker; but the more serious opposition raised by the privileged classes remained

7th April } unmitigated, and the king was obliged to dis-  
1787. } miss Calonne.

Among the classes who were discontented and alarmed at the financial prospects of the state, were the people who had advanced money to the government. There were not, as there had long been in this country, regular arrangements for levying the taxes justly, and paying them over to those who were the creditors of the state. Hence the persons who advanced money for government purposes thought they would have a poor chance of being paid, unless they had the power of paying themselves. Thus there arose a race called farmers of the taxes, who paid rent for a particular tax and made the best of it, as a farmer now does with a piece of land. They became so odious for their tyranny, that one evening, at a private party where frightful stories about oppression and cruelty were related by turns, Voltaire, who was present, said he would tell a dreadful story too. The company listened attentively, and he began, "There was once a farmer-general—you know the rest." The ideas connected with such an officer were quite dreadful enough without any addition.

Great evils arose from this system, the effects of which will be best seen by comparing it with our own. Since the Revolution of 1688 the government of Britain has always collected the taxes and paid the national creditors. It has never failed to meet its obligations, and has been readily trusted. Thus the people who have advanced money for public purposes, and those dependent on them, have here implicitly relied on the government, while in France they trusted only their own powers, and had little friendship for the executive authority. Then as to the persons taxed, no one has had an interest in this country to charge them beyond the fixed rate, for the benefit of individuals, whereas in France it was the interest of the farmers to make them pay as much as they could exact from them. Thus the farmers were by no means zealous supporters of the govern-

ment, and the people hated the system by which they were so unfairly taxed.

13. BRIENNE.—Soon after Calonne's retirement, the finances, along with the chief administration of the state, were committed to Lomenie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse. He had a high reputation for talent, and David Hume the historian, as well as others, had observed that he was the only man capable of ruling France,—a striking instance how far people may be deceived as to a man's ability for government before he has been tried. His reputation, however, inspired confidence, which enabled him to start with success. He immediately closed the sittings of the Notables, and restored the old system of issuing royal edicts, which were submitted to the parliament. These bodies willingly registered them, till he issued two for raising money—the one by a stamp-duty, the other by a land-tax—and these they refused to register, giving as a reason that they must first have a state of accounts. A member said in joke, "You say you want states of account—no, it's the states-general that you want." This had indeed been running in their minds. Whether it were that they thought they would thus avoid the tax, or that they really desired the states-general to be assembled, it began to be an opinion with the parliaments that the king and they had not power to impose new taxes—that the states-general or national representatives only could do so, and a  
 12th August } resolution was passed by the parliament of Paris  
 1787. } to that effect. The edicts, however, were forcibly registered, the parliament protesting against their legality. A compromise was afterwards entered into, for the government feared that the public would refuse to obey the decrees so despotically enrolled, and the parliament consented to sanction a temporary tax. But this did little to mitigate the pecuniary difficulties of the state, and again Brienne came forward with an edict, which met with the same fate as the others. Although the government was in great difficulty, and would have felt deeply indebted to the parliament had it given its sanction, Brienne had the folly to speak to that body as if the king were still absolute, and they had nothing to do but to obey.

A new spirit was now beginning to rise all through the

nation. The philosophers and economists who had enlarged on liberty, had prepared the people to embrace it, whenever it appeared in a practical shape. The states-general had not only been talked of in the parliament of Paris, but had been declared the only body who could legally grant taxes; nay, the minister himself had offered, if his edicts were registered, that the states should be convoked five years afterwards. Perhaps he thought the ferment would die away before that time; but in five years the states had met, and done their work. When the states-general became thus a subject of general discussion throughout the country, it was remembered that, when they were last convoked in 1614, they and the parliament of England were somewhat like each other, but now, by the frequent assemblages of parliaments, Britain was a free constitutional country, while France was under arbitrary government. The zeal for the meeting of the states-general, therefore, daily increased: people zealously studied the constitution of England; the upper classes indulged in what was called an *Anglo-mania*. They wore top-boots and jockey caps, rode races, and learned to box. These things were in themselves trifles, but they were indications of a mind disquieted and dissatisfied with itself, and showed that the country was preparing to become a free state like Britain. The states-general were believed to be the only means by which their liberty was to be accomplished. Perhaps the parliament suggested the assembling of this body out of mere selfishness, and to save it from a disagreeable tax; but it now obtained great popularity for supporting the proposal, and this induced it the more steadily to resist the ministry.

It was just at this time, when they had become most powerful, that Brienne devised the rash plan of abolishing the parliaments, and constituting a new body of men,—a *Cour Plénière*, removable by the king, who were to sit in Paris and pass the taxes for all France. The parliament of Paris discovered the project, and resolved on resistance. Two of the members were seized, and exiled by military violence,—an incident which was compared to the attempt of Charles I. to seize the five members of the House of Commons, and of course added to the ferment. The king



called the parliament to a Bed of Justice,—a form already explained, by which the sovereign was accustomed, when they resisted him, to get their functions performed in his  
 8th May } presence, under his own immediate authority.  
 1788. } Here, along with the edict establishing the plenary court, five others were registered. These, in reality, contained useful reforms in favour of the liberty of the people, but they were too late: the parliament resented the arbitrary form in which they were passed, and the people sympathized with the parliament.

The new court was soon found to be utterly powerless, for the public at large were quietly resolved to put every difficulty in its way, and its orders could not be enforced. At the same time, formidable riots and tumults began to take place in various parts of the country. The crops were deficient, and famine stared the people in the face; and in the midst of all this confusion, the national debt was daily becoming larger, and the difficulties of providing for the expenses of the government greater. Indeed, it was found necessary to refuse payment of some of the government obligations, except in notes. These being of less value than gold or silver, the measure was of course equivalent to deducting a part of the income of the people who held these securities, and it was felt by them to be a severe hardship. At length the archbishop was driven from  
 27th Aug. } office, and Necker was restored. It was now  
 1788. } known all through France that the states-general would meet, and an order for their assembling was issued.

## EXERCISES.

1. How may the reign of Louis XV. be characterized? What was the moral character of the Regent Orleans? What redeeming qualities had he?

2. What scheme was adopted to redeem the extravagance of the court? Give an account of the rise and fall of the Mississippi scheme. What other calamity occurred? What dispute occurred with Austria? What engagement was undertaken?

3. How did the war of the Austrian Succession arise? What battles took place? What nations were parties to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle? Give an account of the causes and the nature of the next war. What bodies broke out into religious disputes?

4. What was the character of the court? Describe the power and influence of Madame de Pompadour. How did Madame du Barri show her influence?

5. Give an account of the philosophers and their influence over society. When did Louis XV. die? What was his character?

6. What relative was the new king to his predecessor? Who was Marie Antoinette? What were her prospects on her marriage? Who were placed at the head of the government and of the finances? What produced economy? What is said by some to have begun the Revolution?

7. Give an account of Turgot and his views. What were the internal corn-laws? How did Turgot deal with them? What popular delusions followed his measure? What were his six edicts to accomplish? How were they defeated?

8. Give an account of Malesherbes and his conduct. Who attempted reform in the army? What were St Germain's projects? How were they all defeated? Give an account of Necker and his measures.

9. Describe a step taken by the government which tended to bring on the Revolution. Who went as an ambassador to Paris? What Frenchmen joined the Americans? What victory was gained by Rodney? In what did breaking the line consist? Give an account of the siege and defence of Gibraltar. How was Necker treated?

10. Give an account of the character and position of Marie Antoinette. What was the affair of the diamond necklace? What occurred at the period when she became unpopular? What conjecture was formed?

11. What sort of a private man would Louis XVI. have made? Describe the characteristics which rendered him unfit to rule France. What ministerial arrangements were attempted after Necker left office? Give an account of Calonne and his system. What amount of debt was accumulated in ten years?

12. What sort of body were the Notables? Give an account of the proposals made to them. What personal dispute arose? What class of people were made discontented by the state of the finances? Who were the farmers-general? How did the French system of taxation differ from the English?

13. Who succeeded Calonne? Give an account of Brienne. What resolution was passed by the parliament of Paris? What edicts was it forced to register? What was the main subject of discussion throughout the country? What anticipations were formed as to the states-general? What new bodies were constituted? What ministerial change took place?

## CHAPTER XIII.

### FROM THE OPENING OF THE STATES-GENERAL TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVI., A. D. MAY 1789—JAN. 1793.

The States-general—The Verification of the Powers—The National Assembly—The Tennis Court—Mirabeau—Necker's Banishment—The National Guard—Capture of the Bastille—Necker's Recall—Declaration of Rights—The Banquet at Versailles—The Assembly in Paris—The Clergy—The King's Flight—The Second Assembly—The King's Imprisonment—The Guillotine—The Massacres—The Convention—The King's Execution.

1. THE STATES-GENERAL.—The day fixed for the assembly of the states-general was the 5th of May 1789, and at this epoch the French Revolution may be said to have begun. This body consisted of members from the nobles and the clergy, and representatives of the towns and the different country districts, making in all about twelve hundred persons. The last two were called jointly the *Tiers Etat*, or Third Estate, and were compared to our House of Commons. As the nobility, the clergy, and the commons were thus talked of as three estates, the aristocracy and courtiers insisted that they should be all equal in number; while the popular party maintained that the estates should be considered as four bodies, of whom the representatives of the towns and those of the country districts were two. Necker adopted this view, and thus the commons were equal in number to the peers and the clergy together—a very important matter, as we shall hereafter see. The members were not chosen at once by their constituents, as members of parliament are in our country; but the electors, who consisted of nearly every male twenty-five years old in the district, nominated persons to form the electoral colleges, by whom the deputies were selected. It will be easily imagined that the election created the utmost ferment and anxiety throughout France. It was the passage of a great nation from despotism to freedom. All saw that mighty

changes were about to take place; but, alas! few knew what the country was to endure before it reaped the advantages of liberty.

On the day appointed, the meeting of the states-general was opened in a hall which had been prepared for the occasion at Versailles, the royal residence, about twelve miles from Paris. The king was present in great pomp, and addressed the assemblage. It was observed that, in exterior matters, the commons were treated as if they were still as humble as when the states had assembled a hundred and sixty years before. On the day before, they had marched in solemn procession to hear mass,—the clergy in their beautiful violet-coloured robes,—the nobles in still richer array of black and gold, with plumes of feathers in their hats,—the commoners in coarse short cloaks, which demeaned rather than adorned them. The clergy and nobility entered the hall of meeting through the grand entrance, and were seated on both sides of the throne. The commoners, having to wait till their superiors had arranged themselves, obtained entrance by a side-door.

A small incident, however, soon showed that times were changed. When the king put on his hat, the nobles and clergy immediately, in virtue of ancient privilege, covered themselves also. Seeing this, the commons also began to assume their hats; nor could they be prevented from doing so by the menacing signs of the master of the ceremonies. This small dispute was speedily terminated by the good-natured king, who took off his hat, and all the assemblage followed his example. Necker addressed the estates on the financial difficulties and their onerous duties; but even he had fallen behind the spirit actuating the assembly. They were not met merely to put right the finances, but to put right all that had gone wrong in the mismanaged state, and they felt his address to be flat and imperfect.

THE VERIFICATION OF THE POWERS.—A dispute on a matter of vital moment occupied the attention of the states, before any other business could be begun. It has been already mentioned that the members of the third estate, representing towns and rural districts, were fixed to be equal in number to the other two from the nobility and clergy. If all the estates sat together, and voted upon questions by

simple majorities, the commons would thus have an equal power with the privileged orders; and if any proposal were made contrary to their interests, they might not only expect their own members to vote against it, but likewise to get a few members of the other orders to do so, and thus make a majority in their favour. On the other hand, if the three orders met separately, and each took a vote on a question, and the votes of the greater number of the orders carried the point, the privileged classes would have a majority of two to one against the commons. This matter had been well weighed beforehand, but not decided on by the ministry. When the sittings began, Necker wished the members to vote all together on the question of taxation, which he always viewed as the main purpose of bringing them together, and then to deliberate separately, each order on its own particular affairs. But from the beginning the democratic leaders of the third estate were determined that all should deliberate in one body, where each member would have an equal vote; and, as we shall see, they carried their point.

The clergy and the nobles assembled separately, to "verify their powers;" that is, that each individual professing to be a member might have his authority to sit there examined and approved of by his brethren. It was expected that the commons were occupied in the same task; but they maintained that they could not verify their powers until they were joined by the other orders and the assemblage of the estates was complete. They therefore waited from day to day unoccupied. An accident favoured their object. Being the most numerous of the three bodies, the large hall in which the estates originally met was assigned to them, and they thus daily appeared to be meeting in the hall of the states-general, waiting till the other orders should join them. A deputation came from the clergy, with a pathetic appeal to the commons about the miseries suffered by the country, proposing that some deputies from each estate should meet, and endeavour to adjust the difference. A young and obscure member, who afterwards acquired a frightful celebrity—Maximilien Robespierre—bid the deputation tell their colleagues that, if they were so anxious to assuage the miseries of the

people, they ought to join their friends there assembled. Committees were afterwards appointed, and a conference held, but without effect, as neither party would yield.

2. Hitherto the commons, as a body, had done nothing. They had spent nearly five weeks in this negative policy, when with caution they began to act. Sièyes, who was both a noble and a priest, but had been elected a member of the commons on account of his liberal opinions and his great abilities in constitutional matters, proposed a motion calling on the other two orders to join the states-general in their common hall, which was carried by a majority of one. But events soon gave greater strength to their proceedings. The country was in a ferment of excitement—the court and aristocracy were in the utmost alarm, dreading a rebellion: all cried out to the states-general to give up their disputes, and act. The commons still stood firm, when, on the 13th, three priests from the order of the clergy, and next day six more, joined them. The ice was thus fairly broken; and as it was known that a powerful minority from the two privileged orders were preparing to follow their example, the commons now spoke out boldly. On the 17th of June, they passed, by an overwhelming majority, a vote, assuming the name of *The National Assembly*; and the next day began zealously to fulfil their duties, by enacting that all taxes not levied by their authority should come to an end on the day when they were dissolved. These proceedings were hailed with acclamations of joy throughout the kingdom. The nobility protested against them; but in the other privileged order, which contained many of the poorer clergy, who had sprung from the ranks of the people, those who approved of the proceeding, and resolved to join the commons, made a majority. The court now determined to act. It was agreed that the king should settle the question of the voting of the estates, and that, in the meantime, the hall in which the commons used to meet should be closed on the 20th of June. When Bailly, the president of the assembly, went to their place of meeting, he found the doors shut, and guarded by sentinels. Here he was soon joined by many of the members; and a universal feeling of enthusiasm and indignation seizing them, they proceeded in a body to the most con-

venient open space, which happened to be a tennis-court belonging to the princes, and there they took the celebrated oath, by which they solemnly bound themselves not to separate until a regenerated constitution was established, and, if forcibly dispersed, to reassemble. They afterwards met in a church, and were joined by the majority of the clergy.

On the 23d, the estates were solemnly assembled before the king at the royal sitting, which was held with great pomp, and accompanied by a military parade, most displeasing to the commons. Necker had advised the king to join the friends of liberty heartily and candidly—the courtiers recommended strong measures; and he took a middle course, which satisfied no one. He revoked and annulled the proceedings of the third estate; and declared many reforms in taxation, and the abolition of several offensive privileges, but announced them in a manner which gave umbrage, as if all proceeded from his own free gift, and was not a matter for the deliberation of the estates. He fixed the division of the orders, said he had appointed distinct places of meeting for them, and commanded them to separate and hold their several meetings, each order in its own chamber.

When he departed, the majority of the nobles and the dignified clergy left the room; but some of the nobles, and a majority of the clergy, joined the commons, who had remained alone in the hall. From their silent wrath they were roused to action by the commanding eloquence of Mirabeau. He was a nobleman of high rank, but of morals fearfully dissolute. His vices had plunged him into many difficulties, and exposed him to much obloquy, and he had led a life of strange adventures. The unnatural enmity of his father had subjected him to persecutions, which imbittered his spirit, and roused in him a desire to retaliate against all powers and authorities. His learning was great, but his genius was greater still. He could rouse by impassioned eloquence, or could show, calmly and philosophically, the soundest and fairest course to adopt, as he pleased. He was a man of gigantic make, with a bushy head of hair, and features so wild and rough, that he compared himself to a tiger marked with smallpox. His voice was loud and fierce, his manner intimidating; but he could

be courteous, kind, and polite, and when in his gracious humours, his manners were truly fascinating. Such was the first hero of the Revolution,—a man well fitted to sway popular assemblages.

He was calling on the assembly to remember their oath—to notice that he (meaning the king) who was but the representative of the power of the legislature, had come there to dictate to the legislature what it should do—when the master of the ceremonies entered to order the third estate to proceed to the chamber appointed for them. To this functionary he turned and said, “Go, tell those who sent you that we are here by the will of the people, and we will not retire unless at the point of the bayonet.” Next day the commons having assembled with the portion of the nobles and clergy who had joined them, the king interposed, and begged the other members of the privileged orders to follow their example. They yielded with reluctance, and the 27th of June saw them march solemnly into the hall of the national assembly.

And now came the evil of divided and unsettled opinions. Yielding to Necker, the king brought about the union of the states after he had forbidden it. Yielding to the courtiers, by whom he was most vehemently assailed, he next formed, or perhaps rather permitted others to follow, a design to intimidate and silence the assembly by an armed force. While they were proceeding to transact the business of framing a constitution, they saw the town gradually filling with soldiers, till it became like a camp. They sat surrounded by sentinels, who examined those who entered, and refused admission to the public. They presented a respectful memorial on these suspicious appearances, but received no satisfactory answer. Meantime their alarm was extended to the citizens of Paris, who found themselves surrounded by a large army, consisting for the most part of foreign mercenaries, and possessing a formidable train of artillery. The uneasiness thus communicated to the respectable inhabitants was extreme; and already the general terror afforded excuses to the disorderly to disturb the peace. The people assembled in the open places of the Palais Royal, the residence of the Duke of Orleans, whom they believed to be their friend, and from time to time



some orator would address them from a chair or table, so that there was a ceaseless agitation. The mob here were joined by some soldiers of the French guard, which became insubordinate, and showed distinctly that it could not be trusted in any conflict with the people. In the meantime, though Necker was nominally prime-minister, he was not consulted about the armed preparations, or made aware of the designs of the real advisers of the king.

3. NECKER'S BANISHMENT.—When the military arrangements were completed, matters were brought to a climax by Necker's banishment. It was on the 11th July, and while he was at dinner, that he received the letter from the king, depriving him of office, and ordering him to quit France. He quietly put it in his pocket, and proceeded with his meal. He knew that this ill-advised act would be productive of tumults; and justly believing that the people would take the change more patiently after he had gone than if he were among them, he took coach with his wife so secretly that he was far on the road to Switzerland before anything was heard of his dismissal.

But when it became known next morning, the citizens of Paris and Versailles thought they saw their worst fears confirmed; and they had some ground for alarm, as a new ministry was constructed, at the head of which was Marshal Broglie, the commander of the army that had been concentrated round the capital, and who was believed to be ready to put down the states-general at the point of the bayonet. The people rushed as if by instinct to the Palais Royal, and there a young man of commanding aspect and enthusiastic oratory, afterwards well known by the name of Camille Desmoulins, jumped on a table, and, with a pistol in his hand, cried out, "Citizens, there is not a moment to lose—the banishment of Necker sounds the alarm of another massacre of St Bartholomew! The German and Swiss soldiers are upon us. There is but one chance for us—we must fly to arms!" He then set the example of putting a green branch in his hat, and the people immediately stripped the trees in the gardens to supply themselves with the badge. The mob rushed on. They were attacked and dispersed by the dragoons of Prince Lambesc; but these came afterwards in contact with the French guard,

who had taken the popular side, and were in their turn dispersed. Other troops were brought up, who hesitated, however, to attack their fellow-soldiers of the guard. The mob then proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, or city hall, where a committee of electors had assembled, with a view of directing the movement which had begun.

To understand how the outbreaks which followed were organized, it must be remembered that Paris, for the purpose of electing its members to the states-general, had been divided into sixty electoral districts, or wards as they would be called in this country. In each of these districts, committees had been formed, and when the outbreaks commenced they were immediately assembled. Their proceedings were kept in union by a central committee, which sat in the Hotel de Ville. This committee was the commencement of the Municipality of Paris, whose terrible history we shall soon have occasion to relate, while the electoral committees became equally well known as the Sections. One of the first operations of these bodies was to raise a force of city volunteers. They consisted of a battalion from each electoral district, the higher officers being chosen by the committees, and the lower elected by the men. The whole system was arranged and proclaimed in less than four hours; and thus was formed the celebrated *National Guard*. Their flag was at first blue and red, the colours of the city of Paris, to which white, the colour of the royal family, was afterwards added,—thus constituting the famous *tri-color*, which was destined to wave triumphant in almost every capital in Europe. The 13th began with the sounding of the great alarm-bell of the Hotel de Ville, commonly called the tocsin, which had been used when fires broke out, or any other danger menaced the city. It was answered by sixty church-bells from the different divisions, and men parading the streets with drums added to the din. That day considerable violence and pillage took place; but the people could only collect small quantities of arms; and such was the dread of a military attack on the town, that all night long the streets were illuminated, and guards were established in the principal quarters. Early next morning the mob seized on the Hotel of the Invalides,—a large establishment, like Chelsea Hospital,

set apart as a refuge for veteran soldiers. Here they found twenty thousand muskets, many swords, and twenty pieces of cannon, which were immediately distributed among the insurgents.

**CAPTURE OF THE BASTILLE.**—A whisper now ran along the crowd, that the cannon of the dreaded and mysterious state-prison and fortress of Paris were pointed down the crowded streets, and a cry arose, "To the Bastille! to the Bastille!"

This gloomy fortress consisted of eight round towers, with ranges of high buildings running from the one to the other. It had a fosse or ditch, an outer wall, and many buildings within. Designed both as a fortification and a prison, there were no windows, but merely narrow loopholes and embrasures for cannon, towards the exterior. The people confined in it were taken there secretly, and when once within its walls, their condition and fate were buried in mystery. It had thus been always regarded as a foul instrument of despotism: and even our own poet Cowper said of it,—

"There's not an English heart that would not leap  
To hear that ye were fallen."

It was a fortress on which an undisciplined mob could not be expected to make a great impression, though the garrison did not much exceed a hundred. The defenders looked only to the principal gate; but in the meantime two men, by getting on the top of an outhouse, cut with a hatchet the chain of a small drawbridge for foot-passengers. A body of the crowd thus got admission, and cut the chains by which the main bridge was suspended. The people then rushed into the outer courtyard, and began to batter the inner gate. Some muskets were discharged, which drove them out again; but they returned with double fury, Delaunay, the governor, having hitherto humanely abstained from using his artillery, which would have produced a terrible slaughter in the dense multitude. But the besiegers soon acquired a strength which made resistance hopeless. The cannon taken at the Hotel of the Invalides was brought up and planted by the soldiers of the French guard in the outer yard and the surrounding houses. The garrison at

last capitulated, after making an arrangement with the foremost besiegers that their lives should be spared. But no leader can make terms for a furious mob. They hanged the governor, and, cutting off his head, paraded it through the streets on a pike; and several of the garrison were speedily massacred, a portion of them being saved by the intervention of the French guards.

The booming of the cannon during the siege was heard at Versailles both by the king and the national assembly. It was a time of awful suspense. They knew that a civil war had begun, but they knew not its form. When information of the capture reached the court, Louis at once abandoned the idea of force. Soon afterwards his new ministry fled; and he visited Paris, almost unprotected, to assure the citizens of his peaceable intentions. Meanwhile the revolutionary party gathered strength daily; the municipality at the Hotel de Ville, and the sixty electoral committees, were reorganized and made permanent; the example of establishing municipalities and national guards was adopted throughout the country; and the Count La Fayette, an ardent young nobleman, who had imbibed republican opinions in America, was put at the head of the central national guard at Paris by the consent of the king.

4. NECKER'S RECALL.—It was believed that the safety of the state now depended on the recall of Necker. Messengers were despatched after him, and on the 21st July he entered Paris in triumph.

The next great step in the Revolution was the celebrated day of sacrifices, the 4th of August, when the National Assembly seemed to be carried away by a general enthusiasm of disinterestedness, and the members vied with each other who should give up the most profitable abuses. The Duke de Noailles commenced with a proposal for relieving the feudal vassals from the oppressive territorial rights of their lords, and abolishing entirely personal servitude. It was then proposed that tithes should be converted into a fixed charge; that the game-laws should be given up; that the sale of judicial offices, the peculiar immunities from taxation, the powers of corporations, the special privileges of commercial and other public bodies, should all be resigned.

A whole train of these proposals, down even to the abolition of special immunities as to pigeon-houses, were carried by acclamation; and thus, in a few hours, every vestige of the multitude of privileges which pervaded the country, and separated class from class, was swept away. Such another day as this 4th of August has never been known in the history of the world.

The excitement produced by the capture of the Bastille led to atrocious excesses, not only in Paris and its neighbourhood, but throughout France; and an extreme scarcity of food added to the general recklessness of the poorer classes. They maltreated, and in many instances put to death with diabolical cruelty, individuals who had become offensive to them. The nobility, as a class, were unpopular over a great part of the kingdom; and many of their mansions were attacked by armed mobs, burned, and pillaged.

THE EMIGRANTS.—Accustomed all their lives to idleness and luxury—to the obedience and respect of all around them—the nobility were ill fitted to endure adversity, and its first attacks put them to flight. They emigrated in thousands, leaving their country to its fate. Their chief place of resort was Coblenz on the Rhine, where the frowning fortress of Ehrenbreitstein protected them from their unruly countrymen; and the road between this town and Paris was crowded with their vehicles and servants. To this selfish desertion of their native land many of the appalling scenes which followed must be attributed. They did not depart as dejected patriots, despairing of its salvation; but without making any attempt to serve it, or to aid the royal cause, they fled whenever they found their position disagreeable and dangerous. Nor did they by any means anticipate the hardships they were to suffer; on the contrary, they left their homes in a haughty and defying spirit, believing that they would be able to return with foreign troops to crush the Revolution, and reinstate themselves in all their privileges. They had sadly mistaken their position, and were taught the bitter lesson that it would have been better for them and theirs to have taken their part in the fortunes of their country, sharing while they endeavoured to mitigate its calamities.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.—While the Revolution was

thus hurrying forward out of doors, the assembly proceeded quietly to the task of framing a constitution. They first drew up a set of principles of political philosophy, explaining what they deemed to be the mutual rights and obligations of all persons in the state, whether public bodies or private persons. When they had completed this document, it was solemnly promulgated on the 18th of August as "The Declaration of the Rights of Man."

Assisted by Sièyes and Dumont a citizen of Geneva, they next proceeded to frame the substance of the constitution. Its principle was, that there should be a king whose person was to be inviolable, and one legislative chamber, or house of commons. This form of government would have resembled the British constitution without the house of lords. A considerable party proposed the English constitution as their model, but they were outvoted. An important question remained as to the power of the king—it was whether he was to have a conditional or an absolute veto; that is to say, whether he was to have the power of rejecting a measure after it had been approved of by the parliament, and so preventing it from becoming a law—the word *veto* being Latin for "I forbid." In England the monarch possesses this power, but it has not been used for upwards of a century. In this question Mirabeau supported the court, having begun to entertain the project of saving it from the inroads of the violent party. At length it was decided that the royal privilege of refusing to sanction any legislative measure should not extend beyond two successive years.

5. THE BANQUET AT VERSAILLES.—All the proceedings of the court were in the meantime watched with the most wakeful suspicion both by the assembly and the citizens of Paris. These suspicions were roused by the unwillingness of the king to sanction the Declaration of Rights, and by what was far more alarming, a new concourse of military forces towards Versailles. An incident then took place which appeared to confirm the worst suspicions. The

1st October, } king's guards gave an entertainment to the offi-  
1789. } cers of a newly arrived regiment, called the  
regiment of Flanders. It was observed with some surprise  
that it took place within the palace, and that the musicians of

the court attended. In the midst of the banquet, at which a large number of officers were assembled, the king appeared along with the queen, leading the dauphin by the hand. Under the influence of wine, music, and the presence of royalty, these officers became almost frantic in their protestations to defend the cause of their sovereign. It was said that white cockades were distributed among them, and that they trampled the tri-color badge on the floor. The people construed this into a bold attempt to produce a reaction among the troops, and if it were not so, it was certainly under the circumstances an act of great imprudence.

When the news of this banquet—exaggerated of course—reached Paris, the citizens were again in a ferment. It was observed that a young woman went through the streets beating a drum and crying out, "Bread, bread," and that a mob, consisting chiefly of women, gathered round her. Some one called out, "To Versailles," and the troop, gathering as it went, departed in that direction, with Maillard, one of the conquerors of the Bastille, at its head. The national guard proposed to follow, and La Fayette, striving in vain to dissuade them, went with them as their leader, with the view of preventing mischief.

Both the court and the assembly, but ill protected, were subject to the intrusions and insults of this motley multitude of ruffianly men and still more ruffianly women. They came occasionally into collision with the few troops  
 6th October } in the neighbourhood, and blood was shed. When  
 1789. } La Fayette arrived, however, his sanguine trust in the populace made him guarantee the safety of the palace, and without taking efficient means to protect it, he departed and retired to rest; and so did the royal family after some hours of anxious watching. The mob, of course, not having any place of residence or shelter in the small town of Versailles, wandered about restlessly all night; and at length, between five and six o'clock in the morning, began to attack the palace. They slaughtered the few sentinels outside, and penetrated so far that they reached the door of the queen's apartment, and only the heroic defence of two soldiers of the guard gave her time to escape. Roused from sleep and half dressed, she and the king found refuge

in an inner apartment protected by troops, but the rest of the building was ransacked by the mob.

When La Fayette arrived, he put an end to the outrages; but the people began to indulge in a new humour, and were clamorous that the royal family should accompany them to Paris. It was deemed prudent to comply, and they joined the melancholy procession, in front of which were borne on pikes the bleeding heads of the two guards who had protected the queen. In their tedious journey they were subjected to endless insults, and the women cried out, that now the citizens would have bread, for they had brought with them, "The baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's apprentice," alluding to the king, the queen, and the dauphin. Such was the commencement of an unparalleled series of insults and hardships to which this family, thus precipitated from the highest pinnacle of human grandeur, were subjected.

The court was now transferred to Paris, the king residing in the Tuileries, nominally his palace, but in reality his prison. Some of the members of the assembly attended the memorable procession, the rest followed, and the legislative body thenceforth sat in the capital. For a short time the city was comparatively tranquil, but tumults were again occasioned by the continued famine. The assembly, for the purpose of suppressing these outbreaks, passed on the 21st October the "Decree of Martial Law," by which it was enacted that a red flag should be hoisted whenever a tumult broke out, and that all who did not then disperse should be subject to military execution. Robespierre and his friends opposed this law, and marked out its supporters for subsequent vengeance.

6. Meanwhile the assembly proceeded in comparative quiet to make extensive alterations. After a long debate, the vast property of the church, estimated as high as 2d Nov. 1789. } eighty millions of pounds sterling, was declared to belong to the state. This seizure caused the commencement of the system of "assignats," or government promissory-notes, so celebrated in the history of the Revolution. As no one will take such documents instead of gold or silver, unless there is a good chance of their being paid, the church property thus seized, and after-



wards the other property confiscated, was declared to be the security offered by the government for the payment of the notes.

The assembly next proceeded to other changes, some of them reforms which have lasted to the present day. France, as the readers of this book must have observed, consisted in earlier times of a series of provinces, united together at different periods, varying much in extent, and each having separate laws and institutions, as different from those of its neighbours as the institutions of Scotland are from those of England. At one sweep the provinces, <sup>9th Jan. 1790.</sup> } with all these differences, were abolished, and the country was divided into eighty-four departments, each department being divided into districts, and each district into cantons, which last usually embraced five or six parishes. Instead of the old parliaments a criminal tribunal was established for each department, and a civil court for each district, the judges being nominated by popular election. A uniform municipal administration was given to the towns. The criminal code was reconstructed, and trial by jury established. Many alterations were made in the church, abolishing the rich dignities and sinecure offices which had formerly existed, and finally, in the middle of the year 1790, the titles of honour were <sup>20th June 1790.</sup> } suppressed, and the nobility reduced to the rank of plain citizens.

The laws affecting property and succession were likewise altered; and within a year after the suppression of <sup>18th March 1791.</sup> } hereditary dignities, the custom of primogeniture, which gave the estate to the eldest son, was abolished; and all the children obtained equal rights of succession, whether to landed or to any other kind of property. The principle of this law was adopted by Napoleon, and it has ever since been the rule in France. It has naturally tended to break down large estates, and to fill the country with small landowners.

Amidst these great constitutional revolutions, the political horizon continued smooth for some months, and the 14th July—the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille—was celebrated by a magnificent ceremonial in the open air. A huge amphitheatre was dug, in which all Paris was

accommodated. La Fayette, on a white charger, was the hero of the day; as commander of the national guards, he took the oath of fidelity to the constitution, and was followed by the king, the queen, and the dauphin, amidst the rolling of drums, the discharge of artillery, and the acclamations of the multitude.

The witnesses of that day of peaceful enthusiasm thought that the hour of France's greatest happiness had come, but there were storms still lowering. With great imprudence the Duke of Orleans and Mirabeau were accused of having created the disturbances at Versailles; but they were acquitted, and the charge only increased their popularity and power. This mistake was soon afterwards followed by disturbances in the army, which showed how little the troops were to be relied on by the throne. Where the old aristocratic officers still continued, they ceased to have authority over their soldiers,—where the nobles had been succeeded by commoners, the officers themselves supported revolutionary principles. In the garrison of Nancy they were of the former kind, and the soldiers broke out

31st Aug.  
1790.

} in open mutiny. The assembly itself saw the danger of countenancing insubordination in the army; and, led by Mirabeau, strengthened the government to suppress the disturbance. Bouillé, the commander of Metz, was selected for this difficult task, in which he barely succeeded through the superior discipline of his troops.

4th Sept.  
1790.

} 7. Within a few days after this event, Necker, too powerless to control the movement, and too conscientious to head it, retired. His ministry was succeeded by Duport du Tertre and his colleagues, who belonged to the party of La Fayette, Lameth, and Mounier, and supported a monarchy with a very liberal constitution. They were destined, in their turn, to fall under the ascendancy of those who objected to a monarch. For good or for evil, the course of revolutions is always onward.

The new ministry soon raised a storm by enacting that the clergy should take the oath to the constitution administered to the civil and military officers. The

27th Nov.  
1790.

} greater part of the ecclesiastics refused, and preferred to sacrifice their benefices. They were displaced, and others, called constitutional priests, appointed in their

stead. But those who had been true to their order and their conscience naturally attached to themselves a large number of the people, and, although subsisting on the charity of their former flocks, they were still powerful. Thus, in addition to the other divisions of the country, there sprung up two new parties, the supporters and opponents of the ancient priesthood.

Early in the year 1791 the king resolved to follow the example of his emigrant nobles, and make his escape from the difficulties and dangers of his empire. Before  
 2d April } it was attempted, the death of Mirabeau, who  
 1791. } had devised it, took place. He had secretly engaged himself to the court, and promised to exert all his influence in upholding the monarchy. Louis himself wanted nothing but peace in his flight; but Mirabeau had bolder projects for undermining the power of the democratic part of the assembly, if the king were released from thralldom. His death was generally lamented by the revolutionists, because they lost a hero—by the royalists, because they trusted to his protecting them from the farther progress of anarchy.

The design for the flight in the meantime went on, and on the 20th June, the king, the queen, and the dauphin managed to leave Paris at night. Through mistakes in the arrangements, and the pertinacity of a republican postmaster, who recognised the party, they were seized at Varennes, in Argonne, near Verdun, and sent back captives. The return was accompanied with circumstances of humiliation and outrage. On the day after his return, the assembly suspended him from his functions, and he was not restored till the 13th of September. In the meantime, a party boldly spoke out for a republic and the dethronement of the king. On the 17th of July, an insurrection took place for the avowed object of accomplishing this end. This, however, the assembly resolved to resist; and La Fayette, at the head of the national guards, hoisted the red flag according to the act of martial law, and dispersed the insurgents. Those who assisted in their dispersal, as well as those who passed the law of the red flag, were alike marked out for subsequent vengeance.

And now the states-general, or national assembly, which

had sat for more than two years, and accomplished so much beyond what it intended, hoped, or even wished, desired to wind up its labours. It presented the constitution, finally prepared and corrected, to the king, who accepted it; and the members separated on the 14th September, after having passed a self-denying regulation that no member of their body should be capable of sitting in the new legislative assembly. This resolution, adopted in a moment of disinterested enthusiasm, was unfortunate, as it prevented the public from profiting by the experience of those who had devoted themselves to the national service.

8. The new assembly, elected according to the constitution framed by the states-general, met on the 11th October 1791. The nobility, instead of attempting to obtain seats in it, emigrated in unusually large numbers during the election, and thus left it entirely to those who had every reason for being their enemies. The different parties took up their separate positions in the hall: on the right of the president sat those who were most favourable to the court; they were called the *côté droit*, or right-hand side; and opposite to them were the *côté gauche*, or left-hand side. These names are still used in French politics, to express what are called in England the conservative and the progressive parties. Afterwards the most violent anarchists sat in the galleries, whence they received the name of the Mountain; and a medium body, who took no particular side, and sat in the body of the hall, were called the Plain.

Among the members of the left, at the opening of the assembly, were the Girondists, so called from the department of the Gironde, in the south-west of France, whence the most able of their party were elected. They were sometimes styled Brissotines, from Brissot, one of the most eminent of that body, which included the names of Roland, Isnard, Condorcet, Pétion, Louvet, Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonne. Although republican in their opinions, they were the friends of order and regular government. Their political theories were mainly derived from the immortal writers of Greece and Rome; and in the government of the United States they fancied they saw a model for imitation, and a confirmation of their views. The chief ornament of

their party was a woman of great genius and enthusiasm—Madame Roland—at whose house they generally held their social meetings, and whose husband was appointed minister of the interior. The gentlemen of the republican party had for some time been remarkable for the simplicity of their dress, rejecting hair-powder, laced waistcoats, silk stockings, shoe-buckles, and many of the other costly ornaments by which people of rank and fashion used to distinguish themselves from the rest of the world. Roland was the first person who ventured to go to court with trousers instead of the tight pantaloons with silk stockings, which are still considered court-dress. From this circumstance the wits of the time named him the *sans-culotte* minister, and invented a phrase which was long afterwards applied to his party.

It has been mentioned that a law was passed requiring the clergy to take the oath to the constitution, and that a large proportion of them refused to do so. A measure was accordingly brought in to enforce this law against them, which the king, distressed in conscience by having ever allowed it to pass, now refused to sanction. On this the Girondists resigned, and a ministry was chosen from the Feuillant or *côté droit* party.

New and fearful tumults now arose. The king received the nickname of "Veto," and menacing mobs called on him to pass the decree against the clergy. At length, on the 20th of June 1792, a vast assemblage coming up to present a petition to the Assembly, defiled through the hall, and proceeded to the palace, where they forced an entrance. They obtained access to the good-natured king, who permitted them to use him much as they pleased, and sat for some time with a red cap of liberty on his head, which one of the mob had directed him to wear.

But the king's courage never quailed, for no insults or danger could induce him to sanction the decree of which his conscience disapproved. On the other hand, he would not permit violent measures to be used against his assailants. Bonaparte, who, then a very young man, was present when the mob attacked the palace on the 20th, remarked how easily and effectually an armed force could have dispersed them. All history shows that there are occasions

where resistance is necessary and commendable, though it should never be resorted to except to prevent greater calamities than it produces. But Louis XVI. would not permit resistance ; and of course what he discountenanced, it would have been vain for his friends to attempt, as they would have been themselves disobeying the monarch whom they asked others to obey. But nothing could better show how dangerous a thing is an absolute government. In a limited monarchy such as that of Britain, the weak king would not have been permitted to have his own way : a responsible minister would have acted, and, knowing that the public order and the safety of the country were at stake, would have had constables and troops prepared for the defence of the palace.

While the king would not himself resist these mobs, he appealed secretly for help to foreign powers, and chiefly to the despotic monarchs of Germany. This only served to rouse his own people to greater fury ; for the Duke of Brunswick, advancing with a large army, insolently proclaimed that he intended to take vengeance against those who were trenching on the authority of the king, and forcibly to restore him to his former power. The German princes did not content themselves with merely giving a hospitable reception to the emigrant nobles, who avowed their intention of restoring the old state of things by force of arms, but assisted them in their preparations to invade France. Governments have now learnt that, when nations are occupied in revolutions, it is wisest to let them alone. They have so much to do with their own affairs, that they do not readily meddle with strangers ; but when they are roused by foreign interference, they become very dangerous to their neighbours. The several powers of Europe, not excepting the British government, believed that France would easily be coerced, and placed humbly at the feet of its monarch ; but they found themselves woefully mistaken. In the meantime, these proceedings of the foreign powers only hastened the ruin of the poor king. It was on the 25th of July that the Duke of Brunswick issued his offensive proclamation, and marched from Coblentz, the headquarters of the emigrants. The popular party now professed to be afraid that Paris would be attacked by foreign sol-

diers, and they themselves would be massacred ; and they had some reason to be afraid of the consequences of an invasion. They were at this time joined by bands of sympathizers from Marseilles, who entered the capital singing the song afterwards so well known as the Marseillaise. The clubs of Paris met, loudly demanding the deposition of the king ; and the great champions of the revolutionary party, La Fayette and D'Espremenil, nearly fell victims to the wrath of the multitude for refusing to support the popular demand.

9. THE TENTH OF AUGUST.—On the 10th, a general rising took place, headed by Danton and connived at by Pétion the mayor of Paris. Danton was a man of gigantic stature and resolute air, with a broad, fat, sensual face, more like that of a debauched Englishman or German than a Frenchman. His voice was almost preternaturally loud. He could bear any amount of fatigue, and commit almost any amount of wickedness. In his passion and lust of power he perpetrated many deeds of cruelty ; but he is believed to have had some heart, and not to have been so utterly callous to suffering as many of those who assisted in carrying the Revolution to extremities. To prevent the national guards from protecting the court, Santerre, another person celebrated in the Revolution, was put at its head.

The chief dependence of the king was on a small body of Swiss guards ; but with his usual humanity he had ordered them not to fire on the insurgents, and thus they were unable to offer a sufficient resistance. When the populace began to attack the palace, the queen handed a pistol to her husband, and called on him to resist ; but he still remained passive. At last the danger of the whole royal family became imminent, and they made their escape from the palace to the hall of the assembly just in time to avoid destruction. The assembly itself was threatened and in the midst of the ringing of the tocsin, the firing of cannon and musketry, and the trampling of armed bands, it suspended the king from his functions, and decreed that a National Convention should be formed. The palace of the Tuileries was stormed and gutted ; and the poor Swiss, faithful to their master, were nearly all killed in an attempt at

defence, or afterwards murdered. It was on this occasion that the mob of Paris, especially the women, showed the horrible cruelty of their nature, and the frightful barbarism in which they had lived in the neighbourhood of the most brilliant court in Europe. They mutilated the bodies of the Swiss with savage jocularly, cut them to pieces, drank their blood, and actually fried and ate pieces of their flesh.

So fell the great monarchy of France, which boasted an antiquity of fourteen hundred years, and yet, at the last, was defended only by a few hundred hired mountaineers, acting under no higher motive than fidelity to their employer.

The king was now a prisoner, and, along with the queen and the dauphin his son, was committed to the castle or prison of the Temple,—an old building consisting of two square towers with round turrets at the corners, capped with conical tops like rockets. It was an abode no less dismal than the Bastille. Even looking on their king in the light of an enemy, a generous nation like the French might have been expected to treat him with liberality when he was entirely in their power. But party fury seemed to efface all better feeling, and, to the disgrace of the republicans and their cause, the royal family were subjected, as long as they were allowed to live, to the most scandalous hardships and privations.

The Girondist ministers were immediately recalled to office, and Danton was added to their number, holding the formidable office of minister of public justice. A new tribunal, the first model of the well-known Revolutionary Tribunal, was appointed to judge of state offences—that is to say, to punish all who were opposed to the new order of things. It so happened that, just before these proceedings, the terrible instrument so well known by the name of the guillotine had been brought into use. Those who first proposed to employ it little anticipated the purposes to which it was to be applied. Dr Guillotine, after whom it was named, was a humane man, and a reformer of the law. He thought the usual method of execution in France, by cutting off the head with a large sword, was liable to serious objection, because, if the executioner were unskilful or unsteady, he might do his work imperfectly, and cause much unnecessary suffering to the criminal. He therefore



proposed to adopt a plan which had been used in Germany and Scotland. It consisted of a large knife or axe adjusted in grooves between two upright bars, and with a heavy weight attached to it. The head of the victim was passed through the bars, the neck remaining between them; and thus, when the knife was allowed to descend, it immediately severed the head from the body. Guillotine proposed this instrument, because its quickness was merciful; but the revolutionary tribunal adopted it because it enabled them to put a greater number to death. The first political victim fell by this machine on the 21st August 1792; the next was the superintendent of the civil list; and from that period till the death of Robespierre, in July 1794, it was kept in constant work.

The army almost entirely joined the assembly in declaring against the king. La Fayette, who had throughout wished for a limited monarchy, and not a republic, endeavoured to rally the troops he commanded in favour of royalty; but failing in this, he was obliged to take refuge in a foreign country. Passing through the Austrian territory, he was seized, and immured in the dungeons of Olmutz, where he remained four years. When a person who wished to uphold the monarchy was thus dealt with, the more violent revolutionists saw what they might expect from the German despots; and the approach of the Prussian troops drove them to further extremities.

**MASSACRE IN THE PRISONS.**—Large armies were marched to the frontiers to meet the foreign enemy; but it was represented that these soldiers left their wives and families at home unprotected from the machinations of the royalists, who were in league with the enemies of the country. It was on this ground that a plot was formed to murder the royalist prisoners in the jails of Paris; and the assassins were urged on to the task by the infamous Marat, in a newspaper which he called "The Friend of the People." At two in the morning of the 2d September the tocsin sounded, and the maddened populace rushed to the prisons, which had been filled with several thousand persons arrested during the domiciliary visits of the preceding days. The Abbaye was the first assailed, and all within its walls were put to death, some of them pierced with swords and

spears, some shot, some having their throats cut, and others being torn to pieces by the mob. Above two hundred priests were assembled in the prison of the Carmes, many of whom escaped into a garden, and ascended the trees, where they were hunted and shot like so many wild beasts, the exhilaration of the sport contributing to the amusement of the assassins. The authorities, under the danger of suffering a like fate, were compelled not only to countenance but to reward the murderers. Among the victims was the amiable Princess de Lamballe, whose body was torn in pieces, and the fragments stuck on the end of pikes and paraded through the city. During these massacres, which lasted four days, above 5000 persons perished in the different prisons, and scenes of a similar kind were repeated in the principal towns throughout France. Such was the terrible result of unchaining the passions of the multitude. It was in the midst of these horrors that the new legislative body, the National Convention, had to assemble.

10. The national convention met on the 21st September. It contained a number of individuals more violent than any who had heretofore been connected with the legislature. In the states-general the two leading parties had been the friends of an absolute and the supporters of a constitutional government. In the national assembly the latter body were on the right or moderate side, and the Girondists or republicans on the left. Now there was a second step in the march, and the Girondists were on the right or moderate side, while the Jacobins (of whom an account will be given in the next chapter) took the left. The greater portion of the Jacobins occupied the higher seats, and hence the extreme and formidable party were afterwards named "The Mountain." A neutral section, inclined to the Girondists, but afraid to offend the powerful and rising Jacobins, filled the centre of the hall, and were called the Plain: The principal leaders of the Mountain were Danton, Marat, Robespierre, Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, and Saint Just; the Girondist chiefs have already been mentioned; and among the members of the Plain we find Monge the astronomer, the poet Chénier, Sièyes, Barras, and Fabre d'Eglantine.

The first act of the convention was to declare, what had

already virtually taken place, that royalty was abolished. This was considered the real commencement of the Republic, and it was from this period that the revolutionary calendar brought into use two years afterwards dated its beginning.

One of the most curious features in the new body was the presence there of the Duke of Orleans, who, as royal and noble titles were abolished, had assumed the name of *Egalité*, or Equality, and attempted to excel the wildest democrats in the recklessness of his proposals. Whatever motives may have influenced others, there is no doubt that he was inspired by the hope of getting, by some means or other, to the head of affairs.

The government and their Girondist friends, now becoming alarmed at the progress of anarchy, desired to stem the torrent. They were indignant at finding themselves associated in the assembly with the men who had chiefly brought about the massacres in the prisons. Two persons especially excited their indignation and abhorrence. Robespierre, who went about among the clubs and other assemblages dexterously encouraging the people to destroy all whom he called the enemies of equality, and Marat, who in his journal demanded more heads and more aristocratic blood. An accusation was brought against them in the convention, but they were so powerful elsewhere that they put their opponents at defiance, and the attempt to proceed against them was abandoned. They had now got the upper hand both among the populace and in the legislature, and they resolved to signalize their triumph by the death of the monarch.

**THE KING'S TRIAL.**—On the 11th of December 1792, Louis was brought to the bar of the convention, to stand his trial as an enemy of the nation. Instead of erecting a court of justice for the purpose, as the English parliament did for the trial of Charles I., the proceedings took place before the whole legislative body. It was not so much a trial for even alleged crimes, as the discussion of a question whether the convention were resolved on his death. Although eloquently defended by his counsel Tronchet and the venerable Malesherbes, he was, on the 15th January 1793, declared guilty of conspiring against the public liberty, and an appeal to the people rejected by a majority of 423

to 281. The question remained, to what punishment he should be subjected. Many of the Girondists wished to spare his life, who yet had not courage enough directly to vote for it. In the end it was declared that the motion for death was carried by a majority of 26. The votes were not given by the members dividing into two bodies, as is usual in the house of commons, but by each marching up and recording his opinion, generally with a speech or some observations on the reasons which influenced him. One man during this proceeding attracted extraordinary attention; it was the king's cousin Egalité, who voted for death, pale and trembling probably with the consciousness that his own turn would soon come, and that he was not so well fitted to meet the Judge of all the earth. This process of voting occupied forty hours,—a time of deep suspense in the capital, and it would have been so throughout Europe if the electric telegraph had then existed. Perhaps the royal family felt it less than many others, for they had drunk so deeply of the cup of bitterness that they were all weary of the world. No long time elapsed before the closing scene. On the 20th of January, Louis sat for the last time with his wife, the two princesses, and his little son, the dauphin. How sad the parting must have been may easily be imagined,—however unfit for a king, he was a matchless father, husband, and brother. Next day he was conveyed to the guillotine, firm and composed to the last. As the axe was about to fall, his confessor, the Abbé Edgeworth, a priest of Irish descent, boldly exclaimed, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven."

#### EXERCISES.

1. When did the states-general meet? Describe the difference of opinion that arose as to the division of the estates. How were the members of the third estate appointed? What circumstances were remarked on the assembling of the estates? What incident showed that times were changed? What was the verification of the powers? Give an account of the dispute which arose regarding it.

2. Who was Sièyes? What motion did he carry? What name was adopted by the commons? What measure was adopted by the court? Give an account of what occurred in the tennis-court. What course did the king adopt? Give an account of Mirabeau and his conduct. How did the king interpose? What circumstances occurred to alarm the Parisians?

3. In what way was Necker banished? Describe the effects produced by the news of the transaction. Give an account of the manner in

which the crowd formed itself, and of the conduct of Camille Desmoulins. What was the commencement of the municipality? What were the sections? How was the national guard formed? What was the tri-color flag? What sort of edifice was the Bastille? Describe its siege. What were the immediate results?

4. What event was expected to restore safety? Mention the changes produced by the day of sacrifices. What excesses were committed? Give an account of the conduct and views of the emigrants. What declaration did the assembly issue? Who assisted in framing the constitution? Give an account of the dispute on the veto.

5. What suspicions were roused? Give an account of an event that confirmed them. What alarming symptoms appeared in Paris? Give an account of the events at Versailles? How were the royal family brought to Paris? What decree was passed?

6. What property was forfeited? What were the assignats? Give an account of a great change in the geographical distribution of France. What alterations were made in the laws? How was the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille celebrated? What was the state of the army? What mutiny was put down?

7. What ministerial change occurred? What measure was passed as to the clergy? What were its effects? Give an account of the king's attempt to escape, and the manner in which it was defeated. What body came to an end? What ordinance did it pass?

8. When did the new assembly meet? Give an account of the disposal of parties to the right and the left. Who were the Mountain? Who were the Girondists? What took place as to change of costume? On what occasion did the king use his veto? What followed? How did the king act? What assistance did he seek? How did the states of Europe act?

9. Who was Danton? What rising did he head? Describe the attack on the palace. How was the assembly occupied? What was the fate of the Swiss guards? What characteristics did the mob show? Describe the treatment which the royal family underwent. Who went into office? What new tribunal was formed? Give an account of the guillotine. What were the conduct and fate of La Fayette? What military movements took place? What atrocities were committed in Paris?

10. When did the national convention assemble? What were its political elements? What law was immediately passed? What epoch dated from the meeting of the convention? Who was Egalité? What was the conduct of Marat and Robespierre? Give an account of the trial and execution of the king.

## CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVI. TO THE END OF THE  
REIGN OF TERROR, A. D. JAN. 1793—JULY 1794.

The War—Dumouriez—The Clubs—Egalité—The Jacobins—The Anarchists—The Assignats—The Maximum—The Committee of Public Safety—The Revolutionary Tribunal—The Commune—Fall of the Girondists—The Massacres—The War in La Vendée—The Reign of Terror—Marat—The Revolutionary Calendar—Robespierre—Danton—The Fall of the Terrorists.

1. THE WAR.—So early as the 20th May 1791, an agreement had been concluded at Mantua by the Emperor of Germany with the Kings of Spain and Sardinia, the object of which was to enter the French territory with five armies, and, with the aid of the royalists, to overturn the government, then in the hands of the constitutionalists. On the 27th of August, in the same year, the celebrated treaty of Pilnitz was signed between Austria and Prussia. It represented the position of the King of France to be a matter of common interest to all European princes, and it bound these sovereigns to unite in war against that country, for the avowed object of compelling the people to restore the power of the monarch to such an extent as to meet their approval. These proceedings, intended to overwhelm the innovators, only goaded them on. After some months of excitement, on the 20th of April 1792 war was declared against Austria by the assembly. In the following December, the king's speech in the British Parliament was of a hostile character; and the ambassador at Paris was instructed to threaten war, unless there were a change in the policy of the government, which, it was said, tended to alter the whole state of Europe. The defiance was readily taken up by the French, who declared war against Britain, Spain, and Holland, on 1st February 1793. A few days before this, a similar declaration was made by Russia against the republic, so that, between the revolutionary movement

at home, and a war with nearly all Europe abroad, the bold innovators of the day might well be said to have their hands full.

DUMOURIEZ.—The commencement of this greatest of European contests was made by the German allies, under the Duke of Brunswick, advancing on the Argonne Forest, between Verdun and Sedan. This part of France will be observed on the map to be the nearest to the German states in the upper part of the Rhine, and it was on the direct road between them and Paris. The French troops sent to oppose them were under the command of Dumouriez. They were wretchedly paid, and ill provided with clothing, food, weapons, and all that an army most needs. They were, at the same time, not under good discipline, for the propensity to revolt against authority was strong among them, and the revolutionary chiefs had not yet learned the art they afterwards acquired, of producing implicit obedience among their soldiers. It was believed that they would flee whenever they came into contact with the enemy. Indeed, this was literally the case on the first few occasions where small parties met and encountered each other. But Dumouriez, having seized and occupied the passes of the forest, presented so resolute a front to the enemy, that they, in their turn, became alarmed by the unexpected military vigour of their opponents. For some time, indeed, the two armies seemed to be afraid of engaging, neither of them knowing what sort of resources the other might exhibit if attacked. It was thus that favourable opportunities were lost on both sides, and particularly by the Duke of Brunswick, before whom the road to Paris lay open at one time without defenders. The end of this attempt to invade France was of an unexpected kind, Dumouriez showing a disposition to make terms with the Germans favourable to the King of France, but not to the friends of the Revolution. In the meantime the king was dethroned, and the republican convention became the ruling power and the masters of the army. This destroyed Dumouriez's chance of carrying out an arrangement favourable to the king; and at the same time a resolution of the convention was passed, that no peace should be made with the Germans so long as they were in the French territory.

One mistake or disaster after another had made the Germans very desirous of peace, for they were destitute of food and other necessities, and in the most wretched condition. Retreat, therefore, was their only alternative, after having marched towards Paris with the intention of seizing it and dictating to the nation. Thus the republic appeared to be triumphant, even without exertion, at the very beginning of its existence.

Now rid of the enemy which appeared at one time likely to exterminate him, Dumouriez turned his attention to conquest, and resolved to begin with Belgium, then in the possession of Austria, a country where the French language was spoken, and which, it was often said, ought to be part of France. The energetic measures of the government had greatly increased his army, about a hundred thousand men being under his command, while the Austrian force was

6th Nov. } much smaller. A battle was fought at Jem-  
1792. } mapes, near Mons, in which the French were  
victorious, and Belgium was subdued.

Dumouriez's career was not afterwards so successful. Wishing to support the principles of a constitutional monarchy instead of a republic, and imagining that he would be able to do so by means of his army, he talked openly of marching to Paris, as if his troops would fight as readily against their fellow-citizens as they had done against the Austrians. Commissioners were sent by the convention to sound his views, as suspicions had been entertained about them. He did not conceal them from these men, who carried back the most alarming accounts to Paris. If Dumouriez could have counted on his troops, the convention would not easily have resisted him; but he had made a mistake when he expected them to obey him. Another body of commissioners arrived to summon him to Paris,

2d April } and if he refused to go, to arrest him. These  
1793. } he ordered to be seized, and he delivered them  
over as hostages to the Austrian general, with whom he was to co-operate. But he soon found that he was in greater danger than they were; for a large majority of his troops declared for the republic, and he was compelled to take refuge in the Austrian camp:

2. THE CLUBS—ÉGALITÉ.—The Revolution was in the



meantime making a rapid progress towards the anarchy which soon afterwards characterized it. Among the most important agents in this result were the political clubs which first took their rise in Paris, and then spread all over the kingdom. The circle formed round the Duke of Orleans commenced the system. He possessed vast wealth, and a splendid palace in the midst of the city. There is now no doubt that he aimed at being monarch, or, at all events, supreme ruler of France. Like his father the regent, and his cousin Louis XV., he had abandoned himself to the most atrocious vices. His excesses even went beyond theirs—at least they had become more scandalous; and he not only indulged in every kind of license himself, but kept up expensive establishments, where he sought amusement by indulging a crowd of followers in open and abandoned profligacy, finding a pleasure not only in committing licentious wickedness himself, but in seeing others indulge in it. The persons who thus gathered round him became in some respects the agents of his political operations. Mirabeau joined them, partly for the sake of vice, and partly for the sake of politics; and gradually a considerable number belonged to the circle, who were led within it rather with a view to join a political movement than to partake in vicious indulgence. They were called the Club Mont Rouge, from the place where they held their meetings.

THE JACOBINS.—But another club became far more conspicuous and powerful. Consisting at first chiefly of members from Brittany, it was called the Club Breton; but it afterwards took its name from the edifice in which its meetings were held, which was a suppressed monastery of Dominican monks, popularly called Jacobins, because their first location in Paris was in the Rue St Jacques. Thus the peaceful ecclesiastics of a monastery gave a name to a body whose ferocity, energy, and activity soon made them dreaded all over Europe, and known in the utmost corners of the world. Sièyes and Mirabeau had joined this club, but they soon found that its designs tended not to reform, but to anarchy and tyranny, and its proper heads were Robespierre and Danton. Most of its members, either by their criminality or their violence, had to dread the worst if the power of the throne were restored; and thus, though

consisting of fifteen hundred members not of the most trustworthy description, their common danger made them preserve the secrecy of their proceedings inviolate. They met in the old vaulted church of the monastery, which was but dimly lighted by a few lamps as they carried on their fierce debates.

Another republican club had been formed called the Cordeliers, because it met in a convent of that order. It was at first more conspicuous and violent than even that of the Jacobins, numbering among its firmest members Danton, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, Hebert, and Chaumette. But when the Revolution was far advanced, and it shrank from the cruel extremities of Robespierre, it gave way, and the Jacobins ruled supreme.

The constitutional party, as they were termed—the moderate friends of the monarchy—had also for some time a club called the Feuillants. Like the Jacobins and Cordeliers, they took their name from the scene of their meetings—the convent of a religious body, founded in the 16th century, in the abbey of Feuillant, near Toulouse. Among its members were La Fayette, Bailly, Duport, and the Lameths. This club was swept away by the overthrow of the royal authority on 10th August 1792.

**THE ANARCHISTS.**—Before the death of the king, a body of men had been rising in influence whose views gave alarm even to the most resolute republicans; and after that event they became more bold and desperate. They were appropriately called Anarchists, or friends of confusion, for it could not be said that they had political views of any description. They did not wish to establish a particular form of government, but, by perpetual confusion and mischief, to prevent any government whatever from acting. Their conduct was like that of schoolboys in an uproar, with the difference that, instead of exchanging blows or breaking furniture, they killed their fellow-creatures by thousands. At the same time the Jacobins, who were in favour of a government, acted on a principle which was equally frightful, for they held it essential that no class of the people should be above another. This view was at first directed merely against titles and hereditary rank, but it soon became evident that, though these may be abolished, some will attain

superiority either by education, manners, good conduct, or natural ability. The Jacobins resolved to abolish this inequality, and they could find no better method of doing so than by cutting off the heads of all who rose above their fellows—just as one might keep a bed of poppies on a level by cutting off the tops of the tallest flowers.

Thus people became alarmed at being eminent in any way, even in talent or morality. It exposed a person to fearful danger to be considered aristocratic. Such of the old nobility as remained in the country endeavoured, as far as they possibly could, to bury their former rank in oblivion, but they could not always succeed. The infamous Duke of Orleans took the ridiculous title of *Egalité*, or Equality, but it did not save him from the guillotine. Those who had been in the employment of the aristocracy ran great risk. But the danger extended to every one who appeared to be in anything above his neighbours, and hence a host of competitors for degradation. Each man tried to outdo his fellows in the badness of his clothes, in carelessness of person, and in vulgarity of manners. This rendered Paris, usually so gay, a sombre and gloomy place; and the people were not only miserable enough in reality, but were obliged to seem more so than they actually were.

3. THE ASSIGNATS.—The effect of all these calamities was aggravated by the diminution of trade and industry. It has already been mentioned that a sort of paper money called assignats was issued on the security of the forfeited estates. To know the effect of this measure, it must be remembered that paper money, or bank-notes, are not worth anything in themselves, but are only valuable because the bank which issues them is bound to give actual property for them. The most convenient thing which the bank can be bound to give is gold. This is a commodity which is always valuable, because, while it is very useful, it can only be obtained with much labour, and in small quantities. But it is sometimes more convenient to have bank-notes than gold itself, especially for large sums, and thus these notes are the same as money, when the bank is able to pay for them in gold. It might be supposed that another sort of property could be used instead of gold—say lands and houses—and that the banker who issues

notes should agree to give a certain amount of this property to every one who brings back his notes, and wants to have their value. This would not be so convenient an arrangement for the note-holders, as lands and houses cannot be so easily taken as gold, with which they may buy the same lands and houses, or anything else they please. Still, in default of a more convenient form of property, people might be content with this, and would take notes representing the value of lands and houses rather than none at all. But then the notes would require to be for no greater amount than the value of the property. If a banker have lands and houses worth a hundred pounds, and he issue first a hundred one pound-notes on this security, and then another hundred, and then a third, it is quite clear that the value of these notes is merely nominal, for though they profess to be worth three hundred pounds, the holders can only get property to the amount of one hundred pounds for them. Instead of being worth a pound each, they will not be taken for more than six shillings and eightpence.

Such an "over-issue," as it is called, was precisely what the convention produced with their assignats. When they had seized the royal domains, and the lands of the church and of the emigrant aristocracy, they had a great mass of property in their hands ; as a means of converting it easily into money, they issued these assignats or notes, worth one hundred francs or four pounds each ; and every person who had a certain number of these—say fifty—could, if he chose, return them to the government, and receive a piece of land for them. A number of small estates were thus obtained, but of course the greater portion of the assignats were kept and used as money, for people could not spend all they had on land. This encouraged the government to increase the amount. They began with four hundred millions of francs, equal to about sixteen millions of pounds in our money. This sum was reasonable enough ; but they went on increasing it as they required money to pay for their armies, and at last the assignats amounted to fifty-six thousand millions of francs, or two thousand two hundred and forty millions of pounds sterling—nearly three times the amount of our national debt.

While the paper currency went on thus increasing in quantity, it of course decreased in value. This was seen by the price of all things rising, when they were to be paid for in assignats. Every day, as a greater number were issued, people found that they had to give more of them for the necessaries of life. The working classes felt this severely, for they were idle and unruly instead of being industrious; and when they got assignats more easily than they used to get silver money, they thought they were becoming richer, until they found that, though they could now get four francs with less trouble than they got two before, the four would not buy so much food as they used to obtain for one.

It was foolishly believed that the legislature could artificially remedy this evil. When it began, the washerwomen of Paris went in a body to the convention, complaining that the price of soap had risen from fourteen to thirty sous. This was moderate in comparison with the subsequent depreciation, which went on rapidly from bad to worse. In June 1793, the assignats had fallen to a third of their nominal value, and in August to a sixth. In other words, when a person held three of these notes for four pounds each, professing in all to be worth twelve pounds, they were only worth four actual gold sovereigns in June, and two in August, and they would only buy so much food. They afterwards sunk by rapid degrees, until they were worth not a hundredth part of their nominal value—in short, were worth nothing. While this was going on, great hardships were endured by those who were obliged by law to take the assignats at their pretended value. Thus, if a person had lent a hundred silver francs in 1792, he might be paid in 1793 by the same amount in assignats, which would be only worth thirty or forty francs; for if he attempted to buy food or clothing with them, he would get no more than he could obtain for thirty or forty silver francs.

It was supposed, as has just been said, that this could be remedied by force, and that the baker, the butcher, and the tailor could be compelled to take the paper francs, as if they were as valuable as the silver. The people began to complain that the shopkeepers charged high prices for food and clothing. In February 1793, the ferocious

Marat in his journal told the mob that they had the remedy in their own hands—they had but to pillage a few shops, and hang the shopkeepers over their doors, and then goods would be cheap. This advice was too acceptable to be neglected, and the next day they plundered the shops of Paris for several hours, and put many unoffending tradesmen to death. For this and other savage exhortations Marat was impeached by the Girondists; but he put them at defiance in a manner which showed that the reign of the anarchists had begun. He went before the tribunal with an armed and ferocious crowd at his heels, who would have instantly slaughtered the judges of the court if they had dared to convict him. He told them that he came not as a criminal, but as the apostle and martyr of liberty. He was acquitted, and forthwith the mob bore him, sitting in classical costume on a triumphal car, and presented him to the convention as the pure and spotless champion of freedom.

THE MAXIMUM.—When such scenes as this were repeated, the convention, finding that it could not resist the clamours of the mob, began to pass a series of laws for the purpose of raising the value of their worthless paper money. This was attempting what was beyond their power; and whenever legislators aim at impossibilities, they become cruel, because they try to force men to do what is impracticable. These enactments were the cause of much dishonesty and tyranny, the seizure of a large amount of property by people not entitled to it, and the murder of a number of innocent persons by their enemies; but they failed to make the assignats worth more than their true value, which was decreasing every day.

The first of these laws was called "the Maximum," because it fixed the greatest (*maximum*) price which any one was entitled to receive for his commodity; but it was utterly ineffective. The dealer must have his just profits, or he will not vend his goods; and so it was found that, when the law could not be evaded, merchants chose rather to close their shops than carry on business under such restrictions. To remedy this, a law was passed to punish every one who relinquished a trade in which he had been engaged a year. This, however, had no better effect, though it sacrificed numerous victims. Terror might urge a poor

man to make a show of carrying on his business, but he would not follow it with any heart or effect, and instead of inviting customers by his activity and civility, and the excellence of his commodities, he would rather do every thing in his power to discourage them. The failure of this drove the convention to still more absurd and tyrannical interference. Every farmer, manufacturer, and dealer was subject to regulation and superintendence. The officers of the law inspected his premises, examined his stock and his books, and told him how much he was to produce and sell, and what price he was to charge. The guillotine was at hand to enforce these arbitrary measures, and many a poor man lost his head for not doing what was impossible. But instead of making trade flourish, this tyranny caused such terror and despondency, that if the shopkeepers could but save their lives, they were contented with the smallest amount of business. It was deemed necessary to carry these regulations so far, that the quantity of bread which a family might buy and consume was fixed, as well as the price at which it was to be sold; and farther, no one could obtain bread for his daily consumption, unless he produced a certificate from some revolutionary committee. To give each a chance of appearing at the baker's counter once, and but once, a rope was attached to the door of the shop, and the individuals, as they arrived, took hold of it, and gradually approached as those before them were served and went away. Such was the state of hunger and destitution in Paris, that many of the middle classes, who had formerly been in comfortable circumstances, would stand by the rope all night to have a chance of obtaining bread early in the morning. In many instances the crowd became impatient, and settled the distribution by breaking open and pillaging the shop. While the guillotine was at constant work, thinning the number of those who were pre-eminent by their talents, fortune, or amiable qualities, famine cut off unknown thousands of victims, and every morning the corpses of great numbers who had been driven by desperation to put an end to their existence, were found floating in the Seine.

4. It was now plainly to be seen that there would be a battle for supremacy in the legislature, and that the Girond-

ists would either have the command of it, or would be overcome by enemies who never showed mercy. An attempt was made to bring to trial the authors of the massacres in the prisons, but those who supported it were intimidated, and it was defeated. The attempt to punish Marat for urging the mob to plunder the shops and hang the occupants was also, as we have seen, baffled. The Girondists must have had reason, when they saw murder thus encouraged, to tremble for their own fate; and in fact they were already deserted by the doubtful members of the convention, many of whom sought protection by siding with their enemies, the bloody and vindictive anarchists and Jacobins of the Mountain. A person accustomed to hear even of the most exciting debates among assemblages of people in this country cannot have any conception of the feelings which actuated the speakers in the convention. The Jacobins and anarchists knew that their safety lay in advancing. They were so deeply plunged in crime, that if the friends of royalty got the upper hand, they had no chance of escaping a violent death. The Girondists were opposed to extreme measures, and felt that their own preservation depended upon keeping up their strength and influence. Thus each day that they attended the house, they went with the feeling that an accident might cause them to be massacred in a body. The terrible leaders of the Jacobins and anarchists spoke and looked so as to make their blood run cold. Danton, Marat, and Couthon, in their addresses, would glare at them like tigers waiting the moment to make the fatal spring. Robespierre, though he had a pale, cold, feeble air, and was too cowardly to bully men who still retained power, had a peculiar twitch of the lip, which, to those who knew his severe and relentless character, was more appalling even than the ruffianly ferocity of the others. Such was the kind of reception which the Girondists—the heads and leaders of the Revolution—met with, as they went daily to the convention. But there were men of courage and high heart among them, and they resolved to defy their enemies.

**COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.**—The extreme party always gathered strength from anything that appeared to threaten the principle of the Revolution. Thus on the defec-



tion of Dumouriez, which has been already mentioned, they proposed the appointment of a committee of nine members of the convention to protect the safety of the state, who should <sup>6th April 1793.</sup> } be absolute and irresponsible, and hold their deliberations in secret. Such was the celebrated "Committee of Public Safety," consisting of nine members, the most conspicuous among whom were Danton, Barrère, Cambon, and Lacroix. At the same time a revolutionary tribunal was constituted, consisting of judges and a jury chosen by the convention, to take cognizance of what were denominated offences against the republic. The committee of public safety was justified by its supporters on the ground of the danger the nation incurred from enemies without and conspirators within; and the alleged motive for choosing the formidable revolutionary tribunal was to prevent such massacres as had occurred in September, by assuring the people of the punishment of the enemies of the republic. It may have been the case that the systematic tyranny thus established superseded the more irregular tyranny of the mob, but such awful powers, at such a time, were fraught with terrible anticipations; and the Girondists opposed, but without success, the formation of the committee and the tribunal.

**THE GIRONDISTS.**—It was understood that the Girondists wished to establish a federative republic like that of the United States of America. By the adoption of such a proposal the country would have consisted of several states, in some respects independent, though under the authority of a central legislature in other matters. The Jacobins and anarchists disliked this, as their power consisted mainly in the circumstance that, by being masters of Paris, they could govern France. They hated the Girondists all the more heartily for entertaining such a design, and resolved to use every means for accomplishing their destruction. Robespierre, in his peculiarly cunning and insinuating manner, accused them in his harangues of not being the friends of the onward progress of the Revolution—that they had demurred about the king's death—that they had supported the project of martial law, and others intended to check popular outrages, which he characterized as the virtuous expression of the popular will. He endeavoured to prove

that they had been the confederates of Dumouriez, and accessory to his desertion; and at length, increasing in audacity as he felt secure, he personally denounced the best men of the Girondist party—Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Petion, and Gensonne.

The Girondists for some time fought boldly. The commune of Paris was exercising a power which seriously encroached on that of the national legislature, and if it went much farther, the set of clever plotters who had got possession of the City Hall of Paris would supersede the authority of the national convention, elected by the French people. Guadet boldly proposed that the convention should remove its sittings to the small town of Bourges, where it would be free from the despotism of the mob and the municipality, and might issue its decrees to all the departments. Barrère proposed a more moderate measure—the appointment of a committee of twelve deputies to examine into the plots of the municipality and others against the convention. The twelve commenced with great vigour—sent their emissaries to the commune, where they detected and exposed the machinations of the anarchists, and seized on one of its leaders—Hébert, the publisher of a demoralizing journal, along with some other suspected persons. But that turbulent body immediately declared its sittings permanent, and raised the standard of revolt. On the 27th May its members proceeded to the convention, and demanded the liberation of Hébert and the dissolution of the committee of twelve. They were followed by the deputies of the sections, and a multitude of ferocious men came continually pouring through the hall, while in the body of the assembly the opposite parties hurled defiance at each other. In the midst of this scene of confusion, while some of the mob were mixed with the deputies of the Mountain, a resolution was carried to dissolve the committee and release its prisoners.

Next day, however, the Girondists recovered their influence over the assembly, who revoked the decision of the previous day as illegal, because it was obtained by intimidation, and restored the committee of twelve. The Jacobins and anarchists now determined on an insurrection like that of the 10th August. On the 30th of May all

their plans were arranged. They had cannon and arms—they took a number of the mob of *sansculottes* into pay, and appointed *Henriot* to the command of their forces. On the 31st they assembled in arms, and threatened the convention. It was in vain that the Girondists still held a front of defiance: many of their friends deserted them, and before the armed force reached the Tuileries, where the convention was assembled, they had agreed to dissolve the committee of twelve. But now came deputations from the insurgents, who, not content with this, demanded the punishment of the twelve and all their Girondist supporters. *Robespierre*, with eloquent duplicity, called on the assembly to comply, and now showed that nothing less than the destruction of the Girondists would content him. The convention, however, voted for the modified proposal, and the insurrection was stopped for that day, but not finished. The next two days were spent in further preparations. On the night of the 2d June, *Marat* himself mounted the tower of the city-hall, and sounded the tocsin. It was answered by the clang of the other bells throughout Paris, by the rolling of drums, and the occasional roar of artillery. In a few hours the convention was surrounded by eighty thousand men in arms, and 160 pieces of cannon, all under the command of the insurgents. Some of the Girondists absented and concealed themselves; others resolved to fall at their post. A violent scene took place within; but when the members saw that they were completely in the hands of the armed force, even the Mountain became indignant at the conduct of the leaders who had so humiliated the great legislature of the nation. Having resolved to march forth and demand an account of this insult, they found *Henriot* on horseback, with a drawn sword in his hand, and he, in answer to the remonstrance of the president, *Hérault de Séchelles*, ordered the cannoniers to their guns. Two of these were quickly pointed against the Assembly, who speedily retreated within their walls. The impeachment of the Girondists was now no longer resisted; and *Couthon* read a list of the proscribed deputies, amounting to thirty-two, who were committed to custody. This list included the flower of those who were the real heroes of the Revolution as a political movement, with some who

still held ministerial offices, and all the members of the committee of twelve.

The guillotine had now high work to perform. On the 16th of October, its knife fell on Marie Antoinette, the heartbroken widow of Louis. Her worthless connexion, Egalité, was a less regretted victim; but this miserable end of all his schemes of ambition did not overcome him. Stoical to the last, he looked curiously as he passed at his palace, where he had presided over so many scenes of horrible iniquity. Twenty-one of the Girondists were taken to the guillotine on the 31st October, preserving their courage and their principles to the last, and singing the *Marseillaise*. Madame Roland fell a victim to the same cause. Her beauty, the purity of her life, the greatness of her talents—above all, her eminent services to liberty—were of no avail. She suffered with a calm firmness beyond that of even the bravest men who were then perishing, and left behind her the memorable saying, "Oh, liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!" Her husband, who was then in hiding, resolved to live no longer. Even in committing the awful act of suicide, he showed the native goodness of his heart, and his desire to be just to others. Afraid of compromising the friend who had given him shelter, if he died in his house, he wandered abroad, and was found dead in a corn-field. Many of the Girondists, who had at first escaped, suffered a like fate, or died of hunger, or met a violent end; for the new government, as we shall find, was becoming daily more and more terrible; and it was impossible for marked men to find a place of rest or of security. So perished the great champions of liberty without anarchy, and of order without despotism. The time had not yet come when their noble views were to be realized—at least on the soil of France; and if they helped to pull down one tyranny, they only made room for a greater.

5. The Girondist leaders were not allowed to fall without a struggle on their behalf by their friends throughout the country. Everywhere they had a few partisans, but in some places they preponderated. Marseilles and Toulon broke into insurrection; and the great manufacturing city of Lyons, second only to Paris, became the centre of an extensive revolt, sufficiently strong to set up a provisional gov-

ernment, which threatened speedily to have authority over the whole south of France. These insurrections were of a mixed tendency, partly Girondist, partly royalist; but the royalist feature generally began to prevail, for in insurrections a middle party like Girondism, between two extremes like royalty and Jacobinism, has no chance of separate existence, and must hold by the one or the other.

**THE MASSACRES.**—The committee of public safety sent some of their boldest and most unscrupulous partisans to superintend military operations against Lyons, of whom the principal was Couthon, celebrated for the silvery gentleness of his voice. Although a confirmed invalid, who from paralysis required to be carried about in a litter, he was prompt, daring, and relentless. He would not listen to the scruples of the military engineers, who proposed to set about the capture of the town with the ordinary professional precautions. The fervour of the revolutionary fury made him supersede their authority, and dash forward at once. The citizens, terrified by the vast and furious army set upon them, proposed terms of surrender, but they were refused; and before the messengers could go back with the answer, the city had been entered. The convention came to the savage resolution of extirpating this fine city, containing upwards of a hundred thousand inhabitants, and converting the place where it stood into a desolate wilderness, in the midst of which should be raised a monument with the inscription, "Lyons made war on liberty: Lyons exists no more." A ruffian called Collot d'Herbois, who has become illustrious by his cruelties, was sent to execute this sentence. It was said that, as a comic actor, he had been hissed off the stage at Lyons, and that he now resolved to take vengeance for his disgrace. Finding the usual method of demolishing houses too tardy, he undermined the streets, and blew them up with gunpowder. A moveable guillotine, sent down from Paris, proving also too slow in its operations, he caused the condemned to be tied in groups to trees, and fired at by platoons of soldiers. He was careless who were the victims, provided they were numerous enough, and thought it but a jest when persons who were not condemned happened by accident to be swept away with the multitudes who were to suffer death. The great river Rhone was

crimson with the blood he shed, and the fish were killed by the poisoning of the waters with putrid carcasses. During the course of five months, six thousand persons, it is computed, suffered death by the hands of these executioners, and more than double that number were driven into exile.

The Girondists and royalists in Marseilles and Bordeaux suffered under a similar extermination. In Toulon there were scenes which, if that be possible, were still more horrible. The inhabitants called for the assistance of the British and Spanish allies, some of whom, along with a few French refugees, attempted as a garrison to defend the place. Dugommier was sent against it; and it was here that, under his command, the genius of Napoleon first obtained effective exercise. The place had to be abandoned by the allies, and all that remained was to remove as many as possible of the unfortunate inhabitants to the British fleet. Sir Sidney Smith accomplished this humane labour with great daring, and fifteen thousand of the terrified people, who crowded wailing to the beach, were removed. All this took place in the midst of discharges of cannon, and the burning and blowing up of the arsenals and the French ships in the harbour. The fate which the remaining inhabitants met with justified their worst terrors. The plan adopted by Collot d'Herbois was improved upon. The slaughter of small bodies being too dilatory, two thousand individuals were impounded and battered to death with several discharges of cannon, followed up with the use of the bayonet and sword on those who still retained life. Napoleon, who witnessed the scene, used to say that nothing ever gave him so vivid an impression of the day of judgment being at hand.

Another spot became celebrated for these horrors—it was Nantes on the Loire, where there were not only many Girondists, but a considerable body of the defeated Vendéans. The vengeance of the convention in this quarter was committed to the charge of Carrier, a man of dark, scowling, treacherous appearance, a prey to lustful passions, and so cruel, that the protracted death even of children gave him pleasure. He caused trenches to be dug, to bury the bodies guillotined and shot; but still he could not prevent the quantity of putrid flesh created by his butchery

from tainting the air, and producing pestilence dangerous to himself and his assistants. He therefore devised a new plan of slaughter. Large boats, capable of holding a hundred or a hundred and fifty persons at a time, and fitted up with moveable bottoms like trapdoors, were filled with victims, usually women and children, and towed into the middle of the river, where, at a given signal, the executioners leapt into a small boat, the traps were pulled up, and the miserable victims sank into the water. This was what Carrier denominated his *republican baptisms*; his *republican marriages* were equally atrocious, two persons of different sexes being bound together, and thrown into the Loire. He was not entirely successful in removing from his massacre all the annoying effects of these operations, for it seems to be a law of nature that the wanton sacrifice of life shall react upon the living. The bodies cast up by the stream lay rotting on the shore, filling the air with stench and putrefaction; and, as in the Rhone, the fish were poisoned by the polluted waters. Fifteen thousand persons perished at Nantes under the hands of the executioner, or in prison, in one month; and the total victims of the Reign of Terror at that place exceeded thirty thousand.

6. LA VENDÉE.—The whole of France did not immediately adopt republicanism or submit to the new rule. A considerable portion of the country stood out for the royal authority, and was only compelled, after a long conflict, to submit to the new government. The chief strength of the opposition lay in the department called La Vendée, on the west coast, in the Bay of Biscay, half-way between its opening at the department of Finisterre and Spain. It was part of the old province of Poitou, which had belonged to the kings of England. But though generally called the war of La Vendée, the conflict extended beyond the boundaries of that department into Loire Inférieure, Maine et Loire, and Sèvres. The inhabitants of La Vendée were different in their habits and customs from those of the rest of France. The estates were in general small, and the gentry lived among the people, adopting the same manners, and interesting themselves in the same pursuits. They cultivated their lands, and, unlike the other nobility of France, did not

consider it a more honourable thing to haunt the court in expectation of an appointment than to work. Thus it happened that the French monarchy found its bravest supporters among those who had enjoyed the fewest of its favours; and as there were no large towns, there was not an urban and a rural population at enmity with each other. The people were almost all great sportsmen, and being accustomed to hunt wolves and boars, were inured to fatigue, and became good marksmen. When the national guards were formed, the common people chose the gentry as officers; and every elective office of distinction was sure to be offered to them.

Another peculiarity, which brought them into opposition to the republicans, was their attachment to their priests. Nearly all the clergy refused to take the oath to the constitution, and were, of course, liable to persecution. But their flocks rallied round them, armed with fowling-pieces, pitchforks, and scythes; and resolved forcibly to protect them. The priests sent by the government were not only refused a hearing by the people, but were not safe, and no one would perform any service for them. Thus, in a parish with four thousand inhabitants, the new priest could not find any one to give him fire to light the tapers in his church.

THE BOCAGE.—The nature of the country was well adapted for defence. Part of it was swampy, and none could safely pass through it but the natives, who knew the firm ground. Another portion was so woody, that it was called the "Bocage," or thicket. This was covered with hills, none of them very high or extensive, between which there ran a sort of network of cross-roads, with trees on both sides, sometimes meeting in arches overhead. These cross-roads were so extremely like one another, each lying between two small hills, that no stranger could find his way from place to place, or know where he was, unless he had made himself familiar with the country. Nay, it was said that the natives themselves would lose their way if they went a few miles from home. The roads were rough and wet, and they often served as watercourses for streams in rainy weather.

When an army had penetrated among these entangled



roads, the peasantry, hidden among the trees on both sides, could take deliberate aim, and fire upon the soldiers, without being themselves exposed; and when the troops endeavoured to penetrate the hedges on each side, to reach their concealed enemy, the country people retreated across the fields behind another line of bushes capable of being defended in a similar manner.

The immediate cause of the outbreak was the forced levy of three hundred thousand men throughout France for the war with Germany. The drafting of the proportion coming from this district was fixed for the 10th of March 1793, when it produced a rising in two distant places, Châtillon and St Florent, without the inhabitants of the one being aware of the intention of those of the other. The peasantry, when they met in arms, were very unlike regular soldiers, and none who saw them would have believed them capable of encountering a disciplined army. An eyewitness thus described one troop:—"Their horses were of all colours and sizes; some had pack-saddles, with ropes for stirrups, wooden shoes for boots, pistols at their girdles, with guns and sabres suspended by packthreads. Some had white cockades, others black or green. All of them, however, had a consecrated heart sewed upon their coats, and a chaplet hanging at their buttons. In contempt of the Blues, they had fastened to their horses' tails tri-coloured cockades and epaulets taken from them." "The Blues" was the name given to the republican troops, from the colour of their jackets; while the Vendéans were called Brigands—a name which seemed to correspond with their wild, untrained appearance. A kind of uniform which they afterwards adopted added to this effect. Their favourite leader, La Roche Jaquelein, wore a red handkerchief round his head, another round his neck, and several round his waist to hold his pistols. The republican troops marked him by his dress, and called out to "aim at the red handkerchief." His followers begged of him to change this dress for one less conspicuous, but he was determined to persist in it. They then dressed themselves like him, that he might no longer be so conspicuous; and thus these blood-coloured handkerchiefs became a kind of Vendéan uniform.

The Vendéans fought under strong religious impulses,

guided by their priests. On the way to battle they would stop in a body and kneel down before a crucifix, not deterred from their devotion by the presence of the enemy, but rather believing that it would prove their protection from danger. Acting under such influences, the attacks of these men were terrific, especially when they fought in their own marshes and narrow lanes; but they had not regularity and discipline enough to maintain a regular warfare with the government troops in the open country. When they gained a victory, they thought they had no more to do, and dispersed immediately to their own homes, thus leaving everything unprotected, as if they had been defeated instead of victorious. With a regular army, most of the work of defence is often done without fighting. Thus it is necessary to keep up a perpetual system for supplying provisions—to have the means of moving with all their artillery and baggage from place to place—to maintain fortifications to protect the country they are to pass through—to have sentinels to watch the approach of enemies, and other arrangements for warning them of danger. The Vendéans used few or none of these precautions, having no notion of being soldiers unless when they were actually fighting. Yet it is wonderful, with all these disadvantages, how long and effectual a stand they made.

At first they conducted the war with humanity and generosity to those whom they conquered, but as they went on they became ferocious; and in the end it would be difficult to say whether the friends of the monarchy or those of the republic were the more cruel and bloodthirsty. The first commander-in-chief whom they chose was Cathelineau. He was a pedlar by occupation, but a man in whose honesty, firmness, and talent, all the neighbours, gentry as well as common people, relied; and he threw off his pack to take the command over nobles and peasants, to fight for royalty and aristocracy. He died of wounds received in the service soon after the insurgents had crossed the Loire, and was succeeded by d'Elbée, who not proving so fit for the duty, was superseded by Henri de La Roche Jaquelein, a member of the principal aristocratic family in the district.

7. The insurgents were very successful in their attacks on the towns in their immediate neighbourhood; and in May

1793, they took Bressuire, Thouars, and Parthenay, and gained the battle of Fontenay over a regular army of ten thousand men. Encouraged by these successes, they resolved to carry the war beyond their own district, and crossed the Loire. Still successful, they gained another victory over Westermann, the great republican general. They could not, however, at that time hold their position beyond the Loire, but returned and occupied the Bocage, of which they were still for a time complete masters.

But the terrible strength of the republican government was about to come down with irresistible power on these brave men. A simultaneous advance was to be made by four different armies on their devoted territory, and other two generals of great celebrity, Kléber and Marceau, were associated with Westermann. Their project was to penetrate to the heart of the revolted district, and bear down all opposition,—a difficult task, but one which numbers and discipline could not fail to accomplish. A battle was fought at Cholet on the 17th October, which was felt on both sides likely to decide the fate of La Vendée. Though the royalists numbered nearly forty thousand men, and the republicans twenty-five thousand, the latter were victorious.

The Vendéans now adopted the desperate resolution of abandoning their own district to the republican troops, and trying the fate of war by marching northwards. On the 18th October, they effected their passage across the river Loire, about eighty thousand in number, including old people, women, and children. This transferred the war into the provinces of Anjou, Maine, and Brittany. Several of the Bretons joined the insurgents, and La Roche Jaquelein was now at the head of between thirty and forty thousand men. The republicans commenced a hot pursuit, but in their first encounters were unsuccessful, and the Vendéans gained a victory at Laval. Thus they pressed onwards, and before the end of November they reached Dol, where they were upwards of a hundred miles from their own marshes and thickets. Here they were attacked by Westermann, and just as they appeared sure of victory, a sudden panic seized a large portion of their army, which fled in confusion. It was attributed to the presence of the

women and children, who took to flight, and affected the soldiers with a sympathetic terror. Thus distant from the protection they could find in their native thickets, it seemed as if their army were likely to be irretrievably destroyed. At this point the religious spirit of the fugitives came to their aid. A village priest stood on the top of a mound as they were rushing past, and holding a large crucifix in his hand, called out to them that he would lead them to battle—that if they would follow he would give them absolution—that those who died fighting would go to paradise, while those who were slain in flight would be condemned eternally. The flying multitude knelt round him, and, taking his promises and threats implicitly, gained courage, renewed the conflict, and redeemed the fortune of the day.

They made various ineffectual attempts to take possession of the fortified towns, and in their wanderings had traversed a great space of country, when they were attacked by Westermann, Kléber, and Marceau at once, at Le Mans. Here about fifteen thousand of them are said to have fallen. The slaughter was not confined to the soldiers in battle, but included a portion of the great crowd of followers, old men, women, and children, who were killed in the confusion of the conflict, or were afterwards cruelly put to death by the conquerors. The miserable remains of the emigrants had now no resource but to retreat to their own country, and endeavour to hide themselves from their ruthless and victorious enemies. They had again to pass the Loire, but this a trifling number only accomplished. The small proportion who got back to La Vendée, and a few who were sheltered by the Breton peasants, were all that remained of the eighty thousand who had crossed the Loire northwards when their own country was invaded.

Within the Bocage, however, the spirit of resistance was not entirely suppressed. A large army stationed in the heart of the country could keep it quiet, but the republican government had other uses for its troops, and when they were removed, the natural advantages of the country prompted the people to rebel. Thus during the whole of the winter of 1794 they kept the government at defiance under their chief Charette, a man of indomitable courage and inexhaustible perseverance. The milder government which,

as we shall presently see, succeeded that of Robespierre, was averse to extermination, and unless it kept an over-awing army in La Vendée its authority over it must cease. The terms of a treaty were therefore proposed, which the insurgent leaders accepted. It provided that the inhabitants of the district should remain undisturbed in their possessions and in their worship; that they should become peaceable subjects of the republic; that they should to a certain extent retain their arms; and that they were to possess a small army composed of natives of the country, and paid by the government.

8. THE REIGN OF TERROR.—After the fall of the Girondists, their opponents lost no time in framing a new constitution. It was the work of a few days, and its simplicity rendered it perhaps of easy composition. The convention had been chosen by a double vote—the people nominating colleges of electors, by whom the members were selected. The chief feature of the new constitution was, that the members of the supreme legislature should be at once chosen by all the male inhabitants twenty-one years old, and that it should be annually elected.

But scarcely had they passed this new constitution when its operation was suspended, for the Mountain felt that a free constitution was at that moment of less consequence than a strong government. The armies of Europe were threatening France from all quarters: the royalists were rising against them in one place, and the followers of the Girondists in another. It was imperative, if they wished to save themselves from destruction, that they should act promptly and vigorously; and they did act with a promptitude and vigour such as the world had never before witnessed. They retained the committee of public safety, but they recast it, filling it from their own ranks. The various necessary offices of state were held by members of this body, in whose hands the supreme authority over France was vested for a time. It professed to act through the convention; but the other deputies never questioned or resisted its proceedings, and this knot of audacious and crafty men exercised a despotic power over their country such as no monarch with his council of state had ever possessed. In the meantime, Prussia had invested the fortress of Mayence on

the Rhine, then garrisoned by the republicans, with fifty thousand men. It capitulated on the 22d July. Wurmser was at hand, in the same neighbourhood, with thirty thousand Austrians. On the north, France was menaced by another army, Sardinian and Austrian, of fifty thousand men. From Belgium and Holland they were threatened by a still larger force, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand Germans, Dutch, and British. The Prince of Coburg had advanced through French Flanders, moving on the road to Paris, and flying parties of cavalry had even reached St Quentin and other places, within eighty miles of the capital. At the same time, fifty thousand Spaniards were crossing the Pyrenees. The danger of the republican government from the hostility of the provinces was not less than that from foreign invasion. In fact, everywhere beyond the walls of Paris their power was disputed, and they had a multitude of deadly enemies in the very streets of that city. In these circumstances they showed what despotic, unscrupulous, and energetic power can do; and this period has been called the Reign of Terror, partly on account of the fear under which they acted, and partly on account of that which their exterminating measures inspired. They adopted two decrees, which form the important features of their reign. On the principle that the republic was like a besieged city, and that the whole of France must be one vast camp, they decreed the levy *en masse* of the population, by which all unmarried males, from eighteen to twenty-five years old, were required to assemble and march to the frontiers. By this they raised one million two hundred thousand men,—a much greater force than that with which united Europe threatened them. The other decree was for the seizure of suspected persons,—a method of terrible persecution, by which they completely put down opposition at home, and were enabled to use their gigantic powers untrammelled. To enforce both these laws, but especially the levy, commissioners were sent through all the departments, with supreme and unquestionable authority over persons and property. They instituted revolutionary committees, and established vast manufactories of cannon and other arms. Thus France became one great workshop, in which nothing was made but instruments of destruction. The country was

at this time in a state of misery, and all other trades were paralyzed. It may therefore be asked how the means were found for inspiring so much industry and energy through the land—in short, how the money was raised for paying the workmen and the soldiers. The explanation will require a little attention.

A special account has been already given of the assignats, a species of notes or paper money which were so ruinous to France. Vast quantities of these notes were issued at the time when the committee took their strong measures, and while they conducted the war. Now it is true that these notes became very much depreciated, and gradually almost worthless, but the evil of this fell on those who gave value for them—the government had them for the making, and whatever they would buy was all clear profit to them. Thus if a person sold a horse, and were paid for it in assignats only worth a third of the real price, he was a loser; but a person who made assignats whenever he wished them could not be a loser, even though people would not take them at their nominal value. So the committee issued million after million of this paper money; and though the more it issued the less valuable the paper became, yet while each note was worth anything at all, these great quantities set the armies and the manufacturers of arms agoing. The system reacted on the government afterwards, for it became utterly bankrupt, as the people had nothing else to pay taxes or any other obligations with but the worthless assignats; but it succeeded for a while in developing an extraordinary activity, which relieved the country from its dangers. At the same time, besides the forfeited property which was held as the security of the assignats, the new revolutionary authorities remorselessly plundered all who had any wealth to sacrifice.

The management of the war devolved on Carnot, a man whose genius was equal to the formidable task. He established the system which Napoleon afterwards pursued, of collecting an overwhelming mass on one point, and crushing one enemy at a time. In the direction of Holland, the Duke of York, the British commander, who had under and around him a miscellaneous army of several nations, was repulsed by Houchard, and lost fifty-two

pieces of cannon. Yet so terrible was the energy which the committee required, that Houchard was recalled, and guillotined for not having cut off the retreat of his enemy; and he was succeeded by Jourdan, who defeated the Prince of Coburg at Wattignies, when the Duke of York, coming up to form a junction with him, was obliged to join him in his retreat. Hoche and Pichegru, who commanded separate armies, brought them together, and drove the united forces of the Austrians and Prussians across the Rhine in the dead of winter, and just at the close of the memorable year 1793. The King of Sardinia returned to his own capital, Turin, in September, discontented with the results of his attempts; and thus the republic was relieved from its dangers from the Austrian and Piedmontese army on the slopes of the Alps. On the other frontier, where the Pyrenean mountains divided the country from Spain, the result was not very different. The Spanish commander had some advantage, and might perhaps have gained great victories, but the new-born energy of the French alarmed him, and he remained inactive. Thus the armies which appeared ready to divide the disorganized republic among their several monarchs, were at the end of the year completely repulsed, and France, exulting in her success, was preparing for aggression.

9. THE ANARCHISTS.—While the armies of the republic were astonishing Europe, and the subjugation of the provinces was going on, the work of destruction was not relaxed in Paris. The prisons were not sufficient to hold the victims during their short lives, and other edifices were temporarily used for the purpose. The levelling principle was still continued—all who were, or were presumed to be, above their neighbours, came under the law of suspicion, and were seized and imprisoned. When the supply of really eminent people was exhausted, still abundant numbers could be found in the humbler walks of life, among tradesmen, and even mechanics, who possessed those qualifications which attracted suspicion. It was not enough to save them that people preserved an inoffensive retirement; emissaries went from house to house, and dragged them forth. The prisons were too crowded for any proper regulations to be kept up; and all classes, all ages, and both



sexes, were huddled together. The overcrowding and the filth caused diseases, by which, to the envy of their neighbours, some were cut off before the cart came to convey them to the guillotine. Others committed suicide, and frequently, from the want of attendance, the bodies of the dead were allowed to remain among the pent-up living, rendering existence as horrible as it could be made.

The judges and other officers of the revolutionary tribunal, as well as the executioners, were kept in ceaseless work; and it is a curious fact that many of these persons neglected all pleasures and other pursuits, and dedicated themselves to slaughter with a zeal such as a Howard might give to humanity. Conspicuous among these was Fouquier Tinville, the accuser-general, a man of singularly austere appearance, not given to ordinary vices, or even pleasures; and whom nothing could tempt from the daily labour of procuring the condemnation of multitudes of his fellow-creatures: he only regretted that human ability and labour seemed insufficient to make the work go on so fast as he could wish.

Marat, the great demon of these cruelties, was arrested in his blood-stained career by the arm of a female enthusiast, named Charlotte Corday, a young lady of Calvados, of singular beauty and gentleness of disposition, who had imbibed liberal opinions from the Girondists, and resolved to avenge their fate. For that purpose she went to Paris, and called upon Marat, who was then ill, professing to have important information from Caen, where the friends of the Girondists were standing out. It was not easy to get access to the tyrants, for they knew that they had made many enemies, who would not hesitate to take their lives. But a beautiful young woman was not deemed a dangerous foe, and she was admitted. She sat beside him as he lay in a bath, and professed to give him information about the insurgents. "They shall meet their fate," said Marat. "Yours is at hand!" said Charlotte Corday, and immediately stabbed him to the heart. She did not attempt to flee or avert her fate, but went to the scaffold with the cheerful gayety of youth in pursuit of pleasure. Among the Jacobins, Marat was regarded as a martyr to the cause of liberty. Flowers were strewed upon his grave, and he

was treated as the personification of purity and virtue. Posterity, however, has not confirmed this sentence, though it cannot but condemn the act which rid France of a blood-stained tyrant. His death brought no mitigation of the evils under which the country groaned. All the other members of the committee of public safety profited by the fate of their colleague, and were enabled to accuse, try, and guillotine suspected persons with renewed energy.

The fanaticism of the convention, cleared of its rational elements, became more and more furious. It quarrelled with everything that had existed, whether in act or belief. Gobel, the constitutional bishop of Paris, appeared at the head of a deputation of the clergy, to apostatize from his belief in Christianity, which was abolished by the convention, and declared to be an impious superstition. The commune proclaimed the religion of reason, and publicly displayed a female of loose morals in the magnificent cathedral of Notre Dame as the goddess of reason.

**THE REVOLUTIONARY KALENDAR.**—As Christianity was to be swept away, the kalendar by which all christian communities have dated the year since the death of Christ was also to be abolished, and a new era established. The first year and day of the French republic was declared to have commenced at midnight of the 22d September 1792. The months ran from this time, so that the first month of the year, beginning on 22d September, ended on 21st October. The months received new names, descriptive of the season or the usual nature of the weather. Here is a list of them, with an English translation of each: Vendémiaire (vintage month), Brumaire (foggy), Frimaire (sleety), Nivose (snowy), Pluviose (rainy), Ventose (windy), Germinal (budding)—it comprehended part of March and April—Floréal (flowery), Prairial (pasture), Messidor (harvest), Thermidor (hot), Fructidor (fruit). The month was divided into three periods of ten days each. The christian sabbath was abolished, and each tenth day was appointed to be a holiday. In this manner everything that had been of old in France,—customs, laws, opinions, belief, social distinction, and provincial division,—was swept away, so that the France of 1788 could no longer be recognised in 1794. War was made against more substan-

tial but less important relics of former times—the ecclesiastical ornaments of the churches, and the tombs of distinguished persons. Those of the kings of France were rifled and destroyed. The body of Henry IV. was found entire, and the spices in which it was embalmed diffused a pleasant odour; but that of Louis XV. sent forth so frightful a stench, that cannon were discharged in the neighbourhood of the vault for the purpose of subduing it; and their sound startled his grandson's widow as she was carried to the guillotine.

10. ROBESPIERRE.—Many of these proceedings were extremely distasteful to Robespierre, who, so far from loving anarchy and confusion, desired the most rigorous order, provided that it was of his own making. Although he caused more slaughter and misery than any other man of that dreadful age, yet it would be a great mistake to suppose that he was a vulgar ruffian, delighting in tyranny and blood. He was a person of no mean talents, and had just notions on many subjects. He was a fluent and very persuasive speaker, and not so violent and exaggerated as French orators generally are. He constantly appealed, in his speeches, to justice, purity, integrity, and all the cardinal virtues; and if he had been known to us only by what he said or wrote, he would have passed for one of the most eloquent, virtuous, and upright of mankind. It has been conjectured that the cause of his cruelty was not ambition, or a fondness for bloodshed, but simply his determination to carry out a political creed which he had derived from Rousseau—the creed of equality. He held that if all distinctions were abolished, and the people kept on a level, their acts would be prompted by perfect virtue. Thinking that no sacrifice was too great to produce this desirable end, he slaughtered remorselessly all who stood in its way. It has been said of him that he would have put two-thirds of mankind to death, in order that the remaining third might be governed according to his own views,—a melancholy instance of the danger of human beings believing themselves infallible, and stopping at no means to compass the end they desire. It should be remembered, too, that he possessed a singularly hard, relentless character. Intense vanity was his chief weakness, and he certainly would

have exempted himself from the general operation of levelling. A man of simple habits of life, he cared neither for money nor pleasures; while the anarchists were greedy and profligate, and circulated obscene literature, which demoralized the people. Even their personal rudeness and filth were odious to him; for he loved to be neat, and even fine, in his dress, and fastidiously avoided whatever was outwardly impure. Finding his authority sufficiently established for the purpose, he chose to strike a blow at the anarchists, whose chief power was in the commune. "Justice and probity" were the order of the day; and Hébert, (the head of the party, after whom they have been called Hébertists,) Ronsin, Anacharsis Clootz, (a mad German noble, who, in the eccentricities of the day, was called the orator of the human race,) along with several inferior persons, were tried before the revolutionary tribunal, and guillotined.

DANTON.—Robespierre now looked round for other victims. Some of those who had been hottest in their attacks on the enemies of the Revolution while at war with them, now that their opponents were down, and the revolutionists triumphant, began to shrink from the coldblooded slaughter which they found in daily progress. The chief of these was Danton; and a party who were satiated with blood and inclined towards humanity went along with him, and were called Dantonists. Robespierre had no more toleration for this sort of weakness than for the disorders of the anarchists. An attack on men so popular was a project of considerable risk, but it was successful. It was certainly astonishing, both to the public and themselves, for Danton, the great champion of the wildest democracy, and Camille Desmoulins, who had led the attack on the Bastille, to be tried as enemies of the Revolution. The general accusation against them was, that they had conspired with Mirabeau, Dumouriez, the Girondists, and the other enemies of the Revolution,—a charge they had certainly done nothing to merit, unless the disposition to use the guillotine less sparingly was sufficient to prove it. Danton, even before the tribunal, was still formidable. He was the lion at bay, defying and attacking his accusers; and his tremendous voice was heard beyond the court-room by the mob with-

out, and even at the other side of the river Seine. As evidence really could not be produced to substantiate the charges, the convention, at the suggestion of Robespierre's follower St Just, passed a decree that the court might at once proceed to the condemnation of the accused if they treated it with contempt, and they were accordingly condemned to the usual fate. Danton enlarged with prophetic truth on the folly of Robespierre, who was thus bringing his own fate on himself. On the 5th of April 1794, they were carted to the guillotine, where they died with a stoical firmness that was in strong contrast with the pusillanimous conduct of the anarchists.

11. Having thus destroyed the only enemies who appeared to threaten their authority, Robespierre with his two colleagues, Couthon and St Just, enjoyed undisputed power. Couthon has been already mentioned as a mild-mannered invalid, with a peculiarly sweet voice; but he was as relentless as his colleagues. St Just was a man of austere, forbidding appearance. Their first steps were to remove all opposition in the departments, and to make the local authorities completely dependent on the central government. All the clubs were suppressed except that of the Jacobins, which was carefully weeded of all opposition. The whole country was absolutely ruled by the convention, which in its turn was ruled by the committee of public safety. Within it Robespierre was supreme, for, as Couthon and St Just were entirely under his influence, it followed that he ruled all France; and he did so with a despotic power which even that of Napoleon never excelled, for not a murmur was raised against any of his acts.

Having settled the minor matters of government arrangement, Robespierre resolved to bring the French back to religion. He delivered an address in the convention against the atheistical party, full of fine and even sublime religious sentiments. A decree was passed for the national acknowledgment of the Supreme Being, and a day was fixed to hold a great festival in honour of the restoration of religion, or, more properly speaking, the foundation of Robespierre's creed. The 8th of June was the day appointed for the ceremony. It was arranged with much pomp by David the great painter, and the tyrant himself was the

presiding genius. Gaily dressed, with a plume of feathers in his hat, he carried in his hands, as emblematic of the bounties of the Deity, a bunch of flowers, fruit, and ears of corn. Again he delivered an animated speech in favour of the existence of the Deity and the immortality of the soul to the admiring multitude; and at that consummation of his triumph it was remarked by some who began to be jealous and afraid of his power, that he seemed more like a god than a man. The day was fine. A number of well-dressed people were present on the occasion, and it seemed as if religion and all its humanizing influences were again to be restored to France.

But all these anticipations were soon found to be fallacious. The revolutionary tribunal and the guillotine were harder at work than ever; for the more that were destroyed, the more appeared still to stand between the tyrant and the dead level of equality which he was determined to produce. Some arrangements were in progress for using machinery which would make the guillotine work with four blades instead of one, when symptoms appeared that the cup of horrors was full, and the day of retribution at hand. The populace, who at first thought that none but aristocrats were to suffer, began to find the rank of the victims descend alarmingly towards their own level, and to feel insecure. Instead of crowding round the bloody scene as a holiday spectacle, they now deserted the place of execution, and avoided the streets through which cartloads of victims daily passed to the scaffold. But Robespierre's colleagues had the greatest cause for alarm. They knew that some of their number were marked out for destruction, and as it was not known precisely who they were, a lively terror spread through the whole body.

A curious incident provided the means for commencing an attack on the dictator's power. A mad woman of the name of Catherine Théot had proclaimed herself the mother of God, and then revealed that Robespierre was the new Messiah. The woman procured, in those distracted times, a good many followers, and Robespierre's intense vanity would not allow him to repudiate her tale. A committee of the convention suddenly apprehended the heads of the sect, with all their papers. Apprehensive that they might

compromise him, or at least render him ridiculous, Robespierre went to the committee of public safety, and demanded the release of the prisoners. This was refused. Quite unaccustomed to such opposition, instead of remaining in the committee, and endeavouring to preserve his influence there and in the convention, he deserted them both in a fit of pettishness and rage, and vented his feelings in the Jacobin club and the commune, where he was among adherents still devoted to him. They called on him to head them in an insurrection, and if he had done so, it is difficult to say how long he might have retained power; but he was a coward whenever it came to blows; and though he was skilful in taking advantage of insurrections, he always kept out of the way while they were in progress. Speaking from the tribune was his main reliance, and on that he resolved to take his stand. He came with a petition from the Jacobins to remodel the committees of the convention, including the committee of public safety, into which, as the petitioners stated, many enemies of public liberty had obtained entrance. This he supported at great length in one of his ingenious harangues. He was still an object of great terror—the old cheers were wanting, but all feared to be the first to dissent, and a dead silence was preserved. So timid was the majority against him, that his friends were actually able to carry a vote for printing and distributing his speech before the attack began. At length invectives commenced, growing fiercer by degrees; the vote for the printing was recalled, and the tyrant, foaming with rage, left the hostile body to seek comfort and support among the Jacobins. The war was now declared, and both parties prepared for the death-struggle.

12. THE REVOLUTION OF THERMIDOR.—The next day was the celebrated 9th of Thermidor by the revolutionary kalendar, corresponding with the 27th of July. When Robespierre went to the convention, the storm burst on him in all its fury. He was allowed to make no more speeches accompanied by cheers, or even by the dead silence of the previous day. Cries of "Down with the tyrant" resounded through the hall. They would not hear him; and as he appeared noiselessly to open his lips, one of the deputies, with a voice ringing like a bell above the din, was heard to cry out,

"The blood of Danton chokes you!" The conclusion of that stormy meeting was, that a vote of impeachment was passed against Robespierre and his brother, Couthon, St Just, and Le Bas. They were committed to custody, and the convention gave way to wild congratulations, as people who had been relieved from some dreaded doom.

But they were yet far from being safe. The tocsin was sounded at the city-hall, and the sections and the Jacobin club were arming for insurrection. The captives could not be committed to any of the regular prisons, which were in charge of the commune, and from their temporary place of confinement they were released in triumph. In the evening, the convention, like men who had ensnared a tiger and let him escape, met in terror, expecting that the scene of the destruction of the Girondists would be repeated; and indeed Henriot—the same who had commanded on that occasion—was surrounding their hall with the national guards, and planting his cannon against it.

The fate of the day turned on the conduct of the guards, who refused to obey Henriot. When the convention heard the joyful news, they issued a warrant against that officer, who instantly fled for his life, and Barras was appointed to supersede him. Judgment of outlawry was passed on the tyrants, and the new commander speedily disposed his troops for the protection instead of the destruction of the convention. He advanced towards the city-hall, where Robespierre and his brother conspirators had assembled, expecting a triumph, when Henriot rushed in to tell of his discomfiture, which so maddened them with disappointment, that they cast him from the window. The tyrants were now like scorpions, who are said to sting themselves to death when surrounded by fire. Le Bas committed suicide, Couthon stabbed himself, but ineffectually; two others leaped from the window, and were miserably bruised. A pistol was fired, which broke Robespierre's jaw; but it is still an unsettled question whether it was discharged by himself or by one of the national guards, for he never spoke again. The wounded men were carried on shutters to the room of the committee of public safety, and there Robespierre lay on a large table all night, showing no other sign of consciousness save occasionally attempting to stanch



the blood from his wound. The office-clerks sat writing at the table, and it is said that they amused themselves with pricking the wounded man with their penknives. Those who, a few days before, would have felt their hearts leap if the great potentate but smiled on them, now showed the mutilated wretch who lay before them all manner of ignominy.

Fouquier Tinville, who had prosecuted so many of their victims, conducted the proceedings against them, and made quick work of it. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the day after their capture, the cart was rolling along with its burden to the guillotine. When Robespierre mounted the scaffold, the executioner rudely tore the bandage from his broken jaw, and he uttered a howl of pain,—the only sound to which he had given utterance since his capture. Those who beheld that mutilated face never forgot, amidst all the bloody scenes of the time, its horrible expression. As the axe descended, and each head fell into the basket placed beneath it, a shout of exultation arose among the multitude. The reign of terror was at an end, and France breathed freely.

Future ages will scarcely credit the terrible catalogue of atrocities committed during the revolutionary period, when men, freed from all the restraints of law, morality, and religion, poured out the blood of their fellow-creatures like water. Prudhomme, a republican writer, enumerates a total of 1,022,251 victims, of whom 18,000 perished on the scaffold, 32,000 were murdered by Carrier at Nantes, and as many by Couthon at Lyons. Even this immense number falls below the reality, for it does not include the massacres in Paris, at Toulon, at Marseilles, and at Avignon. In June and July 1794, the last two months of Robespierre's authority, there fell by the "holy guillotine" in Paris alone, 1507 victims. Such crimes have left an indelible stain on the French character. In England, our revolutions have been comparatively bloodless, partly owing to the character of the people, who are less excitable than their French neighbours, but chiefly to the excellence of our social and political institutions, which has prevented the exhibition of similar scenes of cruelty and suffering.

## EXERCISES.

1. What agreement was concluded by the Emperor of Germany and other continental powers? What was the treaty of Pilnitz? What part did Britain take? Describe the conduct of the French on the occasion. Give an account of Dumouriez and the commencement of the war. What resolutions were adopted after the king's dethronement? What territory was subdued? What was the result of Dumouriez's dispute with the convention?

2. What kind of bodies became important in the progress of the Revolution? Give an account of the Duke of Orleans and his followers. Give an account of the Jacobins. Who were the most conspicuous of the Cordeliers? What club represented the moderate or constitutional party? Give an account of the anarchists, and their relation to the Jacobins. Describe the dangers felt by the better classes of people.

3. What aggravated the calamities of France? What is it that makes paper money valuable? How did the convention overlook the proper source of value? What was the security on which the assignats were professed to be issued? What did the assignats amount to? Describe the evils produced by the over-issue. What remedy was fallaciously believed to be applicable to it? What did Marat recommend? How did he act when accused? Give an account of the *maximum*, and its effect upon trade. How was it attempted to be enforced?

4. What struggle was approaching? Describe the position of the Girondists. Give an account of the conduct of Danton, Marat, Couthon, and Robespierre. Give an account of a new committee and a new tribunal established. What excuses were made for their establishment? What were the views of the Girondists as to the future government of the country? Why was their system disliked? Who were denounced? On what ground did they propose that the convention should be removed? What committee was appointed? How was it dissolved? Give an account of the fall and extermination of the Girondists. Give an account in particular of Madame Roland.

5. What demonstrations were made in favour of the Girondists? What feature began to prevail in the insurrections? Give an account of Couthon and his attack on Lyons. What resolution did the convention adopt as to Lyons? Give an account of Collot d'Herbois and his cruelties. What natural phenomenon indicated the extent of the slaughter? What occurred at Toulon? Who was the great commander that made his first appearance at this siege? Describe the scene that ensued, and mention Napoleon's remark on it. Mention another place marked out for the vengeance of the convention. Who carried it out? What were the methods of slaughter adopted by Carrier?

6. Where did the chief strength of the opposition to the Revolution lie? Describe the geographical position of La Vendée. Give an account of the nature of the estates, the pursuits of the people, and the relations of the different classes to each other. Describe the influence of their priests. Give a description of the Bocage and other peculiarities of the country. What effect had these peculiarities on the method of fighting adopted by the natives? What was the immediate cause of the outbreak? What description has been given of their forces? What impulses did they fight under? How was their method of warfare quite different from that of regular armies? Who was their first leader?

7. What measures encouraged the Vendéans? Describe the concentrated efforts made to crush their revolt? What battle was fought?

What desperate resolution was adopted by the Vendéans? Describe the conflict with Westermann, and the way in which the Vendéans recovered themselves. Give an account of the conflict of Le Mans, and the retreat which followed it. What prevented the Republicans from keeping the district in permanent subjection? Who was Charette? What were the ultimate terms which the Vendéans obtained?

8. What new constitution was formed, and wherein did it differ from the previous one? What internal dangers threatened the government? What measures were taken to meet them? Give an account of the various hostile forces arrayed against France, and the positions they had taken up. What was the effect of this state of danger on the republican government? Give an account of the two decrees which were passed. Mention the other arrangements adopted in the crisis. Show how the immense issues of assignats helped the government in the meantime, though it accumulated difficulties afterwards. Who had the management of the war? What system did he adopt? Give an account of the effect of the warlike operations on the several forces by which France was threatened.

9. Describe the operation of the levelling system? What sort of scenes did the prisons exhibit? What classes of men were kept at hard work? Who was Fouquier Tinville? Who was the chief leader of the cruelties? Give an account of the death of Marat. What was its effect? Mention some characteristics of the extreme fanaticism of the convention. When did the Revolutionary kalendar commence? Mention the names of the months, with the meaning of each. What secondary memorials of former times were attacked?

10. Give an account of the character and the crimes of Robespierre. What is his conduct an instance of? Describe how he differed from the anarchists? What was their fate? What views did Danton and his followers begin to take? How did Robespierre look on them? Describe the trial of Danton. What plan did St Just adopt for procuring his conviction?

11. Who were now the supreme rulers? What measures did they adopt? Who was their head? What decree was passed at Robespierre's instance? Describe the festival in honour of the restoration of religion. What anticipations were formed regarding Robespierre? What showed them to be fallacious? Describe the turn taken by popular feeling. To whom did the terror of Robespierre spread. Give an account of Catherine Theot, and the use to which her conduct was turned. Describe the scene in the convention when Robespierre presented a petition for remodelling the committees.

12. What day was celebrated for the Thermidorian revolution? Describe how it began. What was the conclusion of the meeting? What took place outside of the convention? How did the fate of France turn at that time on the conduct of the guards? How were the tyrants made aware of their altered circumstances? Describe the scene that took place among them. Give an account of Robespierre's fate. How did the Reign of Terror end? What was the number of victims that perished in the Revolution? What number was guillotined in Paris during the last two months of the Reign of Terror? What has distinguished the revolutions in England? What has prevented the occurrence of similar atrocities in this country?

## CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE TO THE TREATY OF  
AMIENS, A. D. 1794—1802.

The Reaction—The Directory—The Sections—Napoleon—The War in Italy—The Expedition to Egypt—Battle of the Nile—18th Fructidor—Fouché, Talleyrand, and Sièyes—The Council of Five Hundred—The Consulate—Marengo—Treaty of Amiens.

1. THERE never, perhaps, was any single event in the history of the world that produced such universal transports of joy as the fall of Robespierre. There were ten thousand captives in the prisons of Paris, and a hundred thousand throughout France, expecting death, who were all released. It may well be believed that the prisoners in the capital listened to the disturbances in the streets with intense anxiety, not knowing whether they boded relief or instant death. Among the persons in this position was the widow Josephine Beauharnais, who afterwards rose to be Empress of France. Besides those who were set free or had friends restored to them, the ordinary crowds of people in the public ways pressed each other's hands in silent joy. Multitudes had previously felt as if the arm of Providence had been arrested, and the whole economy of the world reversed; but it was now seen that sooner or later wickedness provides a pit for its own destruction.

It was not, however, the inclination of the majority of the convention that an era of clemency should now begin. They consisted of the men who had supported, to a great extent, the Reign of Terror, and it was not natural that they should voluntarily change at once. The death of Robespierre had, however, let loose the long pent-up public feeling upon the subject. There was a decided reaction all through the country against cruelty, and the convention was forced to go with the torrent. The remnants of the old parties, royalists, Girondists, and Dantonists,

united together, and formed a powerful party against the Jacobins. The work of the guillotine was now the punishment of those who had so long employed it; and Fouquier Tinville, the prosecutor of the revolutionary tribunal, along with fourteen of its jurymen, were condemned to death. They were followed by Carrier and the other perpetrators of massacres in the provinces.

THE JEUNESSE DORÉE.—A club of young men was formed called the Jeunesse Dorée, meaning the golden or select youth. It consisted of the relations of those who had perished during the Reign of Terror; and to distinguish themselves from the populace they wore a dress resembling that in which the victims were executed. High-spirited, and united in a common cause, they became formidable to the Jacobins and the wild mobs of Paris, and more than once protected the convention. In union with the national guard of the sections, they made an attack on the Jacob-  
 8th Sept. } ins at the head-quarters of their club, and that  
 1794. } dreaded body was dispersed, its papers seized, and its doors closed.

Still, however, the cause of order had a terrible ordeal to go through. The assignats had, at the beginning of the year 1795, sunk to nearly their lowest point of value. The law of the maximum, which compelled people to part with their goods at a fixed price, was repealed; and though its abolition was favourable to justice, yet the idle rabble of Paris had profited by the law, and therefore were in its favour. The sufferings of all classes at that time were terrible, for the harvest had been very deficient, and, to add to all these calamities, the winter was intensely severe. In May an insurrection took place in the old style of the 10th August. The mob burst into the hall of the convention. Féraud, one of the members, was beheaded, and his head paraded on a pole. The deputies were driven from their seats, and an insurrectionary government was actually formed. But the committees of the convention still held out, and the insurgents were unable to force their place of meeting. The Jeunesse Dorée with a portion of the national guard at length attacked the rebels, fought with them in the hall of the convention, and succeeded in dispersing them. After this event a search for arms was

made in the most turbulent districts of Paris. The cannon, which had belonged to some of the popular bodies ever since the outbreak of the Revolution, and the small arms possessed by the citizens, were seized. From this time  
 24th May } down to a late period miscellaneous mobs ceased  
 1795. } to have any influence on the politics of France, and all changes were effected either by peaceful means, or through the operation of regular troops.

The reaction was considered a good opportunity for the royalists to make an effort to recover their influence. With aid from Britain, a body of emigrants landed at Quiberon, a long, narrow, rocky peninsula on the coast north-west of La Vendée. But the revolutionary authority was still supreme, and by the vigorous measures of Hoche the attempt was defeated, and the royalists suffered severe loss,  
 July } partly by many of them being killed in battle, and  
 1795. } partly by the severity of the conquerors towards their captives.

But the general tendency of the country to a reaction was very distinct; and it was especially shown in the release of the Duchess of Angoulême, the only remaining child of Louis XVI.—for his son was not fortunate enough to live through the severities to which he had been exposed.

2. THE DIRECTORY.—So great was the change of public opinion that a reorganization of the government was imperatively called for. By this new constitution, the third which had been imposed upon France during the Revolution, the executive power was to be called a Directory, and vested in five directors having their authority from the legislature. That legislature was to consist of a Council of Five Hundred, (forming, as it were, the House of Commons,) and a Council of Ancients, whose members were to be forty years of age and upwards, and who would hold a position in some respects like that of our House of Lords, but more closely resembling that of the Senate of the United States. The elections of the members were not to be directly by the voters, like ours; but, in pursuance of a favourite plan in France, colleges of delegates were to be chosen, whose function it was to elect the members. Thus, while every male citizen of twenty-one years of age had a vote, he did not in reality join in electing a member of the legislature, but

only in the choice of a board that had the right of choosing a representative. Having seen the calamities that proceeded from the resolution of the National Assembly against any of its members belonging to a new legislature, the convention adopted a principle of a distinctly opposite character, and enacted that two-thirds of its present members must form part of the new legislature, the electors filling up the remaining third only.

**THE SECTIONS.**—The royalists were in high hopes, but the promulgation of the new constitution, and especially this part of it, showed that there were sufficient precautions taken to preserve a republic. They therefore determined to follow the example of their enemies, and, profiting by the new-born strength of their cause, to try the effect of violence. There was no lack of ferocious spirits in the capital ready to join in such a project, little caring which side they took. The example was set by the most aristocratic of the sections, and the rest followed, thirty thousand men, organized by these district committees, being sent to storm the legislature. They met, however, with an opponent of unexpected capacity, who afterwards astonished all Europe as

5th Oct. } much as he did these sections of the 13th Vendemiaire,  
1795. } as the day of this attempt was called in the revolutionary kalendar. The responsibility of the defence having fallen on Barras, he bethought him of a certain "little Corsican artillery officer," as he termed him, "who would not stick at trifles," and accordingly Napoleon Bonaparte was nominated to the command. He came to the task with his usual decision. He planted an overwhelming force of cannon round the Tuileries, facing all the avenues to it, and tore the sectionaries to pieces as they came up. The defence was at once conclusive, and the assailants fled and hid themselves, after losing a large proportion of their force.

26th Oct. } The convention now quietly closed its career, and  
1795. } gave place to the new constitution.

When the directory entered on its duties, the system of assignats had reduced the national treasury so low, that they could not obtain decent furniture for a room in which to conduct the business of the nation, and had to sit round a rough deal table on rickety rush-bottomed chairs. The system of paper currency had in fact run its course. The

holders of the assignats were the possessors of so much merely worthless paper, and any efforts which the directory could make to give them value were ineffectual.

The war commenced, by the European powers for the purpose of restoring the Bourbons, had, as we have seen, been met with such resources on the part of the republicans, that it was no longer a question whether the despotic powers could conquer France, but whether they could preserve themselves. Spain, Prussia, and Holland having acknowledged the republic, the two standing enemies of France were now Britain on the sea, and Austria, supported by British money, on the Rhine and in Italy. Though they had accomplished many brilliant achievements, yet latterly their operations had been unfavourable, and the year 1795 showed them thrown back beyond the Rhine. The French had, among other able commanders, Moreau and Ney, Desaix and Marceau, but they were opposed by a leader of great resources, the Archduke Charles. In the West Indies, the French colonies one after another fell before the British naval forces; and in the East, Ceylon and Malacca were seized from France's new ally, Holland. But Britain, disturbed by internal disputes, was ill fitted at that time to cope with France on the Continent. She had, indeed, to look after her own safety; for a large army, under Hoche, one of the ablest of the French commanders of the day, was despatched to invade the empire through Ireland, its most vulnerable point. It is difficult to say what might have been the effect of a landing, at a time when the Irish were prepared for a determined rebellion against the British government; but the greater part of the French fleet was dispersed by a storm, and Hoche returned home with difficulty.

3. NAPOLEON.—As a new era begins with the Italian campaigns of Napoleon, it may be necessary to say a word on the general position of the French army. It had, as we have seen, been brought into existence by the terrors of a general invasion, and especially by the dread of the republican rulers, that they would be the sacrifice should the Bourbons be restored by foreign bayonets. The army was not only multitudinous, but it was at first pretty well paid, as the forfeitures of land and the creation of assignats had



made ready money abundant for the time. But just as the troops became more valuable from long service and hardship, the funds to support them became more scarce, and indeed failed altogether. Here, then, was a great army without the means for putting it in action. The year 1796 found the soldiers who had been sent to oppose the Austrian power in Italy shivering on the Apennines. They were half clothed; most of them were without shoes; their arms were falling to pieces, and they had only enough of coarse food to sustain life. Still there they were, a band of hardy veterans, highly disciplined, and trained to meet hardships and danger. But two things were wanting to make them formidable to all the world—some predominating spirit that might combine and unite them enthusiastically together, and funds sufficient for their support. By the genius of Napoleon both these requisites were supplied. He was but twenty-seven years old, having been born in 1769. He was not a Frenchman, but a native of the island of Corsica, and of Italian descent. His early dreams had been of the liberation of his country from French dominion—perhaps that he might rule it himself; but as every success in life opened some new path of ambition, in the end he was not even content with the subjugation of France, but desired to extend his empire over all the world. He owed the command of the new army of Italy to a singular chain of trifling circumstances. Being intimate with Robespierre's brother, he had some influence with the terrorist government, which he was requested one day to use in favour of an interesting youth, the son of a royalist officer named Beauharnais, who had been a victim of the guillotine. The son wished to recover possession of his father's sword, and by this means Bonaparte became acquainted with the widowed mother, a French West Indian. Charmed with her appearance and conversation, he was soon married to her, and as she had influence with Barras, the consequence of the union was the young general's immediate appointment to command the army of Italy. His sagacity told him that this was the crisis of his history, and he resolved at once to adopt such original and rapid movements as should either create a brilliant reputation, or overwhelm himself and his army in destruction. The nature of his

troops was well fitted for such a design. The German levies were generally commanded by antiquated soldiers, who valued their men, and used them cautiously, having to give an account to their employers of the armies placed at their disposal. But the wild republican levies could be used in any way, it being of no moment to the government how many of them were slaughtered, or what hardships they were subjected to, so that they gained victories. They had thus all the advantage of the reckless against the considerate, and Napoleon was just the man to profit by it. His system was to concentrate his forces, no matter at what cost from fatigue and the loss of stragglers, and thus fall with his whole strength on the different bodies of the enemy, not accustomed to such rapid and desperate marches.

THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.—In this manner, there being an Austrian and Sardinian army in Italy, he attacked the  
12th April } former, and routed it at Montenotte—his first  
1796. } battle. The Sardinians, thus cut off from their ally, were beaten in their turn over and over again; and the king, ere he could recover from his surprise, found his army nearly destroyed, and the way to his capital open to the young conqueror. Obligated to accept such terms as he could obtain, he separated himself from the alliance, yielding up Savoy, Nice, and part of Piedmont. The Austrian general Beaulieu crossed the Po to defend Milan, but Napoleon succeeded by his rapid marches in finding his way to the same side of that great river. He had a smaller but still formidable stream to cross—the Adda, the bridge over which at Lodi, the Austrians, believing that no enemy would attempt to force it, had trusted to the care of sixteen thousand men with twenty fieldpieces. This bridge was merely an exposed flat stage, and as the French passed along they were ploughed down by a hurricane from cannon and musket. This was one of the very few occasions on which Napoleon had to mingle in the fight. He personally cheered the men, determined that, whatever number might fall, the bridge should be crossed. He entered Milan in triumph—not as a conqueror, but a deliverer, for it was his good fortune on that occasion to have the oppressor of the people as his enemy. He now commenced the system of making war support itself, by levying heavy contributions on the coun-

try; so that his soldiers had the additional inducement to fight, that their luxuries, and even comforts, depended on their success. Venice and the Genoese republic, with other small states, submitted to the victors; while the pope had to resign his French territory, and pay a heavy contribution. Austria was not willing, however, to relinquish Italy without a struggle, and there were still many battles fought with various success; but in the ensuing campaign the Austrian army was so materially reinforced, that even Napoleon began to fear that his position was desperate. He had recourse, however, with miraculous success, to the new tactics, by which a smaller force became the larger by fighting the enemy in detail. Thus he gained two brilliant victories at Rivoli and Arcola. The venerable republic of Venice, where a strong party had been formed against the aristocracy, and in favour of the French republicans, received the invaders with acclamation, and bowed to their rule. The great determination was now adopted of crossing the mountain barriers of Italy, and striking at the centre of the Austrian dominion itself, and Napoleon was speedily on the road to Vienna. The occupation of the capital would have been a terrible humiliation; but with an army in front, and another behind, each still powerful, Napoleon's own position was perilous. Both parties, therefore, were inclined for peace, and the treaty of Campo Formio was signed on 17th October 1797, by which France widened her frontier to the Maritime Alps in one direction, and to the Rhine in another, while a Cisalpine republic was formed in Italy. Napoleon, during this war, obtained at once that unlimited confidence which to the end he enjoyed from his troops; and in their frolicsome humour the men called him their little corporal, professing to raise him to that rank for his deeds.

Bonaparte returned to Paris in a sort of triumphal procession, and was received with great pomp by the directory. He was then a thin, pale youth, with a high forehead, dark matted hair, and piercing eyes. His manners were distant, haughty, and mysterious: and living in retirement, without seeming to countenance the publicity and display in which the French so much delight, he was surrounded by absorbing interest. The directory, becoming jealous of his rising

influence, desired to find another distant expedition for him ; and a hundred and fifty thousand men, called the Army of England, were put at his disposal for a descent on Britain. He was ever partial to such a project, could it be accomplished ; but he was sagacious, and beholding the Spanish and the Dutch already humbled by the navy of England, while Nelson swept the seas, he thought such an expedition impracticable, and resigned it.

4. EGYPT was looked to as a fitter object of attack. It was not only a valuable country, but its occupation would increase the strength of the French in the Mediterranean, and bring them so far on the road towards the English dominions in the East. A grand expedition was accordingly sent thither in May 1798, Napoleon having the chief command, with Kleber and Desaix as his subordinates. It had to pass the vast fortifications of Malta, still governed by the knights of that name, whose warlike spirit, however, had much degenerated. They were at feud among themselves, and by a preconcerted arrangement the fortress was given up to Napoleon without a blow. Leaving in it a garrison under Vaubois, Napoleon passed on, and landed in Egypt on 2d July. In their marches through a country with which they were totally unacquainted, and under a burning sky, the men suffered frightful hardships, of which many died, and others carried the marks to their graves. The chief soldiers in Egypt were the Mamelukes,—the most expert horsemen in the world. These formidable troops were believed to be invulnerable; but the French formed square masses of infantry, which poured an incessant fire on them as they advanced, so that they found it utterly impossible to use their swords, and were signally vanquished. This victory, called the battle of the Pyramids, decided the fate of Egypt.

BATTLE OF THE NILE.—Nelson had been for some time cruising in the Mediterranean, and it was only by rare good fortune that the squadron conveying Bonaparte's force escaped being intercepted by him. Advancing, however, towards Alexandria, he there descried the French fleet, under Admiral Brueys, at anchor in the bay of Aboukir. In the battle that followed, called the battle of the Nile, the manner in which Napoleon generally fought was reversed

by the French. They would have been content with safety—Nelson burned for victory. Their fleet was anchored so close to the shallows, that they supposed the favourite British operation of breaking the line could not be executed. It was, however, accomplished most effectually by the superior seamanship of the English. The French were so unprepared for this, that they had not slung their guns on the land side of some of their vessels. The battle that followed was one of the most bloody and obstinate naval conflicts on record. It lasted deep into the night, and even the usual horrors of a sea-fight were exceeded by the blowing up of the 120-gun ship *L'Orient*, with the French admiral and a thousand men on board. Villeneuve, whose part of the squadron did not engage, was glad to remove his vessels to Malta as a place of safety. Of the thirteen sail brought into action, nine were captured by the British, and the naval power of France was, for a time at least, completely shattered.

Thus the means of conveying Napoleon and his troops from Egypt were destroyed. To a young man in the full flush of a successful career, such an event might appear to be a change of fortune to which he must submit. But here Napoleon showed the great resources of his genius, for since he could not carry his troops away from Egypt, he resolved to make them create an empire there; and thus he was indefatigable, when they were not occupied with war, in investigating the antiquities of the country, and trying its capabilities as a permanent residence for his army. To this expedition we owe the greatest work that has been written on ancient Egypt—that of the eminent antiquary Denon. And while he was authorizing such investigations, the young conqueror dreamed of founding an eastern empire, and treading in the footsteps of Alexander through Persia, he meditated an attack on the British dominions in Hindostan. With this view he pushed onwards, and besieged the Syrian fortress of Acre, which was so effectually defended by the Turkish garrison, aided by Sir Sidney Smith and a few British seamen and marines, that after a dreadful loss of men Napoleon was obliged to retreat. Two atrocious acts have been charged against the French in this Egyptian war. A large body of Turks who surrendered to

them at Jaffa were murdered, in consequence, it was said, of the scarcity of provisions; and in the retreat from Acre, the sick of the French army left behind were poisoned by the orders of their general, an act that has been excused on the ground that, had they fallen into the hands of the Turks, they would have been subjected to a death of torture. These crimes, which however some of the French historians vehemently deny, are an addition to the many horrible alternatives to which wars, and especially invasions, drive men, who would not, perhaps, willingly be cruel.

Napoleon, finding that Eastern conquest was not to be his destiny, and that Nelson prevented him from bringing back his army, grew weary of his Egyptian banishment, and returned with a small number of his devoted followers to the great scene of political conflict in France. Kléber, who was left in command in Egypt, was assassinated by a Mohammedan fanatic, and the command fell on Menou. A British army sent under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby to relieve Egypt from the presence of the invaders, accomplished a landing in front of a French force which, advantageously posted as it was, ought to have been able to keep the coast against a far larger number; and a battle was fought at Aboukir, which compelled the French to evacuate Egypt, while it cost the British their much-beloved commander. The French at the same time lost Malta, and thus their Eastern expedition proved in all respects a failure.

During Bonaparte's absence France had been in a state which, compared with its history for some years before, might be considered tranquil and prosperous. But there was enough of stormy matter in the political elements to tempt the young conqueror to return from his visionary Eastern empire to a country where he could enjoy substantial power.

THE 18TH FRUCTIDOR.—When the elections took place in 1797, a majority of royalist deputies was returned, and a strong effort was made to restore the monarchical form of government. This would possibly have been effected, if Hoche and Augereau, with twelve thousand men, called on by the Directory, had not put it down. Napoleon had been appealed to, and, viewing a royalist restoration

as a fatal close to the ambitious prospects opened before him, he had countenanced and aided, so far as at his distance he could, this forcible interference with the new constitution. Though not so bloody as the previous subversions of systems, it was accompanied by the punishment of some of the most worthy men in France, and it received

4th Sept. } the name of the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor.  
1797. }

In the meantime, after the battle of the Nile, Austria had resumed her military spirit, and at last Russia moved her forces under Suwarrow from the distant north into the recesses of the Alps, where, though surrounded by the warmest portions of Europe, they encountered even in summer such snowy horrors as they had been accustomed to only in winter in their own regions. The celebrated conscription had been resorted to by the Directory,—an arrangement which in the end virtually subjected every male, as he grew up to manhood, to the obligation of many years of military service.

But notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of the Directory, and while their various armies fought many bloody battles with the forces combined against them, they were losing ground, and the victories in Italy were nearly all neutralized. The discontents caused by the reverses in the war, and by the pecuniary difficulties of the treasury, had a considerable effect on the elections of the third part of the legislature, in terms of the regulations of the new constitution for 1799. The result of these elections shook the stability of the Directory, and an entire change was made

25th May } in that body, creating a sort of minor revolution,  
1799. } known as that of 30th Prairial. Barras, who had held power for a longer time than most of the political heroes of the Revolution, was still in authority, though suspected and disliked; and in his waning popularity he must have looked with curious feelings to the young general who had been appointed by his means, and seemed about to swallow up his and every other influence in the state.

SiÈYES.—The real head of this new directory, however, was SiÈyes, whose name perhaps, after that of Napoleon and Mirabeau, may be regarded as the most interesting in the history of the French Revolution. He bid fair at this time to be the chief ruler of the country, and to make it a civil

instead of a military empire. He had very remarkable powers, well adapted to the purposes of legislatures when passing through the confusion and difficulties of a revolution; but having grown ill-tempered and capricious, he had lost a great deal of his popularity and the deference of his colleagues. Instead of assisting them in their difficult duties, and giving the aid of a valuable sagacity, he was more disposed to point out their blunders and ineffective efforts. How he sank beneath the star rising in the horizon we shall presently see.

5. Bonaparte, on his return from Egypt, landed on 8th October 1799. Though his expedition had not been very successful, he had not miscalculated the reception he would meet with in France. Scarcely even Louis XIV. ever made so triumphal a journey as his from Fréjus to Paris. Again the Directory received him in state; but it must have been with peculiar feelings, for while addressing their servant they must have felt that events were working to make him their master, unless they fell into worse hands, namely, those of the royalists, who at that juncture entertained high hopes of effecting a restoration of the Bourbons. A great mystery hangs over the conduct both of Napoleon and the other French generals and politicians of this period. That he had deep designs, and had laid his plans for their accomplishment, is evident, but at the same time he must have left a considerable part of their development to what is commonly called chance; that is, to events which he could not pretend to control. He knew that he could depend on some of the great military chiefs to help him through with any ambitious attempt he might make; and in the meantime he kept up his old reserve, and courted no popularity, however he might secretly intrigue, making it thus appear that he was not a seeker of power, but was rather sought after.

FOUCHÉ AND TALLEYRAND.—Two very extraordinary men, who never could have flourished in a nation living in peace and quietness, were connected with this movement of Bonaparte's. They had been for some time concerned in the statesmanship of the Revolution, and they both were employed by the Bourbons on their restoration. These were Fouché and Talleyrand. The former was an ugly,



plebeian-looking little man, son of the master of a small trading vessel, who had been (no one can tell precisely to what extent) concerned as a minor agent in the horrors of the Reign of Terror. He had wonderful capacities of a certain kind. He could wind himself, like an eel, into the confidence of the most unpromising persons, and his capacity for discovering secret intelligence, and knowing means of private influence over individuals, was marvellous. Talleyrand, the representative of one of the highest families of the old French nobility, was a handsome man, with a singularly fastidious aristocratic cast of countenance, and an expression of quiet reserve which might pass for deference or contempt—it was sometimes difficult to say to which it belonged. He, like Fouché, had his arts, but they were of a different kind. He baffled curiosity by his impenetrable aristocratic exterior, and managed to discover the secrets of others by the bland politeness with which he gratified them. These men were for a long time necessary to Napoleon in his career; but at this juncture Sièyes was a man still more important. The difficulty in dealing with him, however, was, that he would not be content with a subordinate position. While Napoleon was supreme in the army, Sièyes was supreme in the Council of Ancients, and might well aim at a divided empire. Arrangements were, however, at last made between them for a plan of operations.

THE 18TH OF BRUMAIRE.—It was in the power of the Chamber of Ancients to change the place of sitting of the legislature, and, alleging some Jacobin plots, they made arrangements for so doing. A military guard would have to attend upon the legislature on the occasion, as if for its protection, and the command of the body was to be given to Bonaparte. The manner in which he proceeded showed the most profound cunning. The Ancients were assembled at a very early hour, before the meeting of the Five Hundred, in order that they might decide on the change without opposition; and even in sending the notices great care was taken that some of the Ancients, from whom opposition was feared, should not receive their circulars until it was too late to attend. When they met, it was hurriedly stated that there were dangerous conspiracies on foot against the constitution, and that nothing could save it but altering

the place of sitting. A decree was passed changing the seat of the legislative body to St Cloud, and, according to the secret arrangement, Bonaparte was intrusted with its execution. He received it surrounded by all his generals, and a vast military force was immediately organized. The place assigned for the meeting of the Ancients was called the Hall of Mars, that for the Five Hundred the Orangery. Barras, Napoleon's old patron, still exercised a leading influence in the Directory, and it was necessary to get rid of him. He was talked over by the subtle Talleyrand, who showed him that opposition would be dangerous and unavailing, while inducements were held out sufficient to make him retire to his country-house. There were two other directors, Gohier and Moulins, from whom resistance might be expected, and by Napoleon's orders they were arrested. There was thus no Directory—the only existing power being the military, with Napoleon at its head. The next step was to propose that a provisional government of three persons should be appointed, to consist of Bonaparte and the two remaining directors, Sièyes and Ducos. The military force, sent avowedly to protect the legislature from a Jacobin conspiracy, was to overawe them, and leave them no choice but to agree to this plan. Napoleon, when the legislative bodies had met, addressed the Ancients. Accustomed to speak only to soldiers, and in the form of command, he was incoherent and hesitating, but the presence of the troops was sufficient to overawe opposition. A different scene awaited him in the council of Five Hundred, who had begun to cry treason, and to denounce military violence. One of the circumstances which helped on the revolution was, that Lucien Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, was their president. Against him, as serving his brother, they directed their attacks. Napoleon at last presented himself, followed by a guard, whose bayonets were seen at the door,—an outrage which roused the assembly to fury. The crisis was something so new to the great conqueror, that he became confused, and forgot his purpose. The grenadiers of his guard entered the chamber, but he seems not to have had presence of mind to give them instructions, and they merely bore him out. He made it an excuse for the steps which followed, that some of the depu-

ties had threatened him with daggers, but this charge was never proved. Cries were now made to outlaw the aggressor, and again the military entered; but Napoleon's purpose seems to have failed him once more, for they only brought forth Lucien, who, it was pretended, was in personal danger. Without doubt he would now be outlawed, and denounced as a traitor, and then it would be very questionable if he could retain his absolute command over the military. He must now either consummate the final act, or run the risk of a defeat and a fall. At last the grenadiers were ordered forward. They charged amid the beating of drums, and the deputies fled in every direction. Thus was completed the revolution of the 18th Brumaire (8th November).

At this period the French Revolution may be considered to have run its course. The country was no longer subject to popular movements and changes, but was as completely under the rule of the young general and his troops as it had ever been under that of the Bourbons. Henceforth there will be no occasion to follow out so minutely all the movements that took place in France, for they were no longer to be traced to certain states of society or popular influences, but were accomplished by orders from a fixed government. Thus all that is material to French history for the fifteen first years of the 19th century, is the biography of Napoleon, and an account of those European wars in which he made France the passive instrument of his ambitious projects.

6. THE CONSULATE.—The provisional government, formed according to the arrangement of the conspirators, consisted of Napoleon, Sièyes, and Ducos, who held the title of consuls. It was their duty, in the meantime, to rule absolutely, though they were nominally assisted by councils chosen from the most trustworthy persons of the two chambers, until they should prepare a permanent constitution. Sièyes, as a veteran politician, believed that he was to be the person to profit by the successful conspiracy. But this dream was speedily dispelled. When the three consuls met, Sièyes spoke about choosing a chairman. "Look," said Ducos; "don't you see that General Bonaparte has taken the chair?—let us proceed to business."

Thus he at once acted as the sole master of all France, and Sièyes afterwards remarked, in his bitter disappointment, "We have got a master at last who knows everything, and can do everything." The firmness of the system was immediately felt. Capitalists lent money to the government, as being one under military domination, and no longer subject to popular fluctuations. Thus the means of conducting the business of the state were found, and supplies sent to the starving armies of the republic. It had hitherto been the practice for the victors in a revolution to celebrate their triumph by a bloody sacrifice of their beaten opponents; but a new system was now to be adopted. Napoleon was not a sanguinary man. He was unscrupulous in accomplishing his ends, but he never shed blood, unless when he thought it necessary for his objects, or on some occasions when he gave way to ungovernable passions. It was defeat, not success, that roused such feelings, and on the present occasion he was clement. Instead of scattering punishments, he abolished a severe law, by which the relations in France of royalists abroad were made answerable for their conduct; the proscribed priests were allowed to return, and some thousands of state-prisoners were liberated, while only a few of the most violent Jacobins were imprisoned.

The new government had to prepare a constitution, and the task of drawing it out naturally fell to Sièyes, who was well accustomed to that description of work. The veteran politician made a last effort to outwit the young general, but he signally failed. He proposed that at the head of the state there should be placed a grand elector, who should, like a monarch, be safe from responsibility, but who, at the same time, should exercise no real authority save that of appointing two consuls, by whom the actual government was to be administered. Napoleon, seeing that this was a plan to make him either the grand elector, who had dignity without direct power, or a consul removable by the grand elector, set his face against it, and another was drawn up by which there were three consuls, one of them called the First Consul, engrossing the whole power. The legislature, when it was formed, was very complicated, and it was made so for the purpose of

virtually baffling the influence of the people without excluding it. The elected legislative body was to consist of three hundred members, who were not to debate, but to vote yea or nay on the measures brought before them. They were not directly elected by the people. Every individual male twenty-one years of age might obtain his constitutional rights, as they were termed, by enrolling his name. The persons so enrolled amounted to five or six millions, but it did not lie with them to elect their representatives. They chose a tenth of their number, who were called their Notability; but even these, who would amount to five or six hundred thousand, had not the choice of the legislature. A second process of selection of a tenth was gone through, thus reducing the number to fifty or sixty thousand. Even this body had not yet the nomination of the legislature, though the inferior local officers, such as mayors, prefects, &c., were appointed by the first and second selected notabilities. A third selection reduced the list to some five or six thousand, from which the Senate, in the close of all, selected such as it chose to form the legislative body. A body called the Tribune, consisting of one hundred members, was also to be selected by the Senate for the purpose of debating measures. There was to be a council of state representing the government. This council of state brought in laws, and the tribune might debate any law so brought in with them. After it had been so debated, a decision on it was given by the legislative body. Behind all this there was another body called the Conservative Senate, chosen by the consuls for life. They could not begin or debate measures, but they had the power of rejection. Such was the constitution proposed to the country, and which was adopted without a murmur. If any persons saw that all its complexity and variety of detail were intended to throw the whole power into the hands of the first consul, they were tired of revolutions and disputes, and kept silence. Sièyes and Ducos, not choosing to remain as mere silent and subservient instruments, were replaced as the secondary consuls by Cambacérès and Lebrun. The services of Fouché and Talleyrand were retained for the superintendence of the police and of the foreign department. These events took

place in the month of December, and the year 1800 dawned on the new constitution. But the constitution was little more than a name. The governor of France was Napoleon Bonaparte; and notwithstanding the force and cunning by which he had secured empire, it is impossible to contemplate without admiration his skilful and enlightened rule. It was so great a contrast to the convulsive governments which had preceded it, that the Bourbons thought he must have been actuated by intentions to restore them to power; and the prince who afterwards became Louis XVIII. wrote to him more than once, in the hope that the victorious young commander would feel highly flattered by so much condescension, and be thus induced to do his duty, by preparing the way for the restoration of the Bourbons. But Napoleon had other objects in view. He had not been long installed in power, when an infamous attempt was made to assassinate him by means of an explosive machine, which killed several people. Napoleon seized on this excuse for some severe measures, which weeded Paris of desperate characters; but while it was a conspiracy of the royalists, he acted as if it had proceeded from the Jacobin party.

Napoleon rendered the beginning of his consular reign graceful by appearing to desire peace; but in reality he wished to perform some new and brilliant exploits before it was established, and he did not seek it with much earnestness. The chief operations of the year 1800, memorable in the military history of France, were carried on in the centre of Austrian Germany, and in Italy. The French army in Germany was commanded by Moreau, a man only second, as a successful military leader, to Napoleon himself, and in some respects his superior. He was an older man than the consul, but still in the vigour of life, being under forty. He had signalized himself less by his victories than by the remarkable retreat which he made through the district of Germany called the Schwartz Wald or Black Forest, before the overwhelming army collected under the Archduke Charles in 1796. He was subsequently under a cloud, from his brother commander Pichegru having carried on intrigues with the Bourbons, which if Moreau was not concerned in, he at least did not

reveal. He retired for some time; but his services were soon afterwards required in the army of the Rhine, where he endeared himself to his soldiers. His system of warfare was the opposite in some respects of Napoleon's. He was humane and kindly, and his feelings got the better of his ambition. While Napoleon cared not how many human beings lost their lives, so long as he was victorious, it was Moreau's principle to make every effort to save his soldiers. Napoleon talked of him as "the retreating general," and he retaliated by what we in this country should consider a more severe censure, in which, alluding to his rival's unscrupulous sacrifice of life, he called him a general at ten thousand men a-day. Yet Moreau, whether from the suspicions he was under, or from some other cause, was content to help Napoleon in the revolution of Brumaire, by doing an essential but rather humiliating service to him—namely, keeping the two obstinate members of the Directory in confinement. When the arrangements were made after the consulate for the command of the armies in Germany and Italy, the former was confided to Moreau. The operations on both sides, during the summer of 1800, were of minor importance; but a great battle was fought in the dead of winter, and among the wide dreary forests and rocky mountains of Bavaria. There he was at first obliged to show his capacity in making a good retreat before the Austrian troops, which had gained an advantageous position; but he did so only to concentrate his forces, and prepare them for a general engagement. Thus, on the 3d of December, close on the verge of the forest, and in the midst of snow, he fought the great battle of Hohenlinden, one of the most memorable engagements in the whole of the European war, for the Austrians were completely dispersed, with great slaughter and the capture of a multitude of prisoners. A few days after, the French were again on the way to Vienna, which they approached within twenty leagues.

7. Napoleon had before this event more than equalled his former achievements in Italy. Massena and Soult were endeavouring to keep what remained of the ground gained by the French, when the first consul projected one of his peculiarly bold and original projects—that of throwing a large and well-appointed army, by an unexpected move-

ment, into the middle of the conflict. He managed, by extreme ingenuity and vigilance, to collect together a great force in the Canton of Vaud, the district of Switzerland nearest to the French frontier, and the most fruitful and easily available for the supply of an army. In such a place the old-fashioned military commanders would have considered, that whatever use he might make of his troops in another direction, Italy was closed against him by the barrier of the Alps. This was precisely the circumstance which indicated to him how he might, by a bold and original movement, fall on his enemies like a thunderbolt with a fresh, well-organized army. At that time the Alps were not so easily crossed as they may be now, for the road by the Simplon was a subsequent work of Napoleon's own. It has proved a highly useful and advantageous means of peaceful transit, but it was intended by him to facilitate the passage of cannon and troops. At the time of his descent on Italy, however, all the roads across the passes were mere foot or mule tracks, altogether unfit for wheeled vehicles. General Marescot, an engineer, had been sent to survey the various passes, and pronounced early in May that it was possible to cross the Great St Bernard. This pass was preferred to the others because it dropped the army into Italy, not in the midst of the Austrians, but so close upon them as to permit all arrangements for battle to be expeditiously made. The risks to be encountered in the attempt were great, and it would have been only a common incident if, in those regions of eternal ice, Napoleon's troops had been as completely destroyed by the elements, as his far larger army was twelve years afterwards in Russia. Even in July and August the traveller on these mountain passes is liable to be overwhelmed by snow storms, which come upon him suddenly, obliterating all traces of his path, and blinding his sight. Although Napoleon had made every kind of preparation which his acute foresight suggested, his whole army, especially at so early a period of the year, might have been buried in one of these storms. At the summit of the pass, the monks, from whom its name is derived, had long been in the practice of keeping an open hospice for rest and refreshment to the travellers crossing the mountain. There, by the provident arrangements of their



general, the men found an ample meal and the means of repose before their descent. The main difficulty was the conveyance of the artillery, which could not be moved on the usual carriages. Large trees were therefore sawn in two, and the guns placed between the two halves, tightly clinched, so that in the tossing they received as they were dragged over the rocks, the wood protected the metal from injury. Peasants were at first employed to drag them, but they grew tired, and the infantry performed the duty, a hundred to each gun. Even after the St Bernard was crossed by the several detachments, each of which occupied a day, there was a serious obstacle to the artillery. The small but impregnable fort of Bard swept the only path by which it could pass. At first there appeared to be no other passage for the troops, but they found one over the Albaredo, a spur of the Alps, where they had not to mount so high as on the St Bernard, but were subject to greater difficulties. The cannon, in the meantime, were wrapped round with tow, and thus drawn noiselessly by night under the dreaded guns of the fort. Thus was an army of forty thousand men conveyed unexpectedly to the theatre of war, and it was immediately joined by twenty thousand brought over in small divisions by the other passes of the Alps.

In this manner was achieved at once that restoration of the French force in Italy which in the ordinary manner could not have been accomplished until the next campaign. Massena, after his garrison had suffered the extremity of starvation, had surrendered Genoa; and the Austrian troops, having nearly annihilated their opponents, were preparing to penetrate the French frontier. Now, however, they had to look to themselves. Napoleon marched straight to Milan, restoring the republican authorities as he went. On the 2d of June, he entered this provincial capital in triumph. The Austrian general Melas, shut up in Alessandria, now felt his position very critical, for with Suchet in his rear, and Napoleon in front, it was necessary either to make a doubtful retreat or fight a desperate battle. After a full consultation, the latter alternative was adopted. Measures were so promptly taken for concentrating all the available troops to make the attack on Napoleon's army ere he accomplished a junction, that it appeared as if

his own favourite tactics were to be successfully used against him. On the 14th of June, he was surprised at Marengo, and attacked by a superior Austrian force which fought bravely. After the battle had lasted for several hours, the French were driven back across the plain with great laughter. The Austrians were in possession of the battle-field. It was already a victory—it was just a question whether it should be a flight and pursuit—when Desaix's long wished for division came up. Napoleon seems himself to have lost his usual perseverance, feeling as if fortune had deserted him, when Desaix made the remark, "Yes, a battle has been lost, but there is still time to gain another." The French formed again. The Austrian commander, considering the battle over and gained, had sought repose, and left the army to the next in command, when the contest was furiously recommenced. Desaix was killed, and the victory was as doubtful as ever, when the decisive charge of a body of French cavalry under Kellerman turned the balance. The Austrians fled from the field, leaving behind them 7000 killed and wounded, with 3000 prisoners and 20 pieces of cannon. The loss of this battle would have been fatal to the French power in Italy, for it was gained just before the arrival of British reinforcements to Austria. By an immediate armistice, twelve fortresses, including Genoa and Turin, were given up to the French. In the winter their army was reinforced by 15,000 men sent by another road across the Alps. This march, although on a smaller scale, was more wild and adventurous even than the passage of the St Bernard, from the season of the year in which it was accomplished. On the 1st of December, General Macdonald, an officer of Scottish descent, commenced the passage of the Splügen. The soldiers had to cut their way through vast walls of ice and snow, the hurricane repeatedly filling up their excavations. Frightful avalanches cut through the columns as they toiled up the steep ascent, carrying numerous victims into the abysses of the mountain. Occasionally the wind blew with such terrific violence that the soldiers were swept over the precipices like autumnal leaves. On the 6th of December, this adventurous body of troops reached the sunny shores of the lake of Como.

**TREATY OF AMIENS.**—There was now felt throughout Europe a general inclination for a permanent peace. Though France was so predominant by land, Britain was equally victorious by sea. On the northern powers having shown a disposition to coalesce against her with the Emperor Paul of Russia, who was devoted to Napoleon, at their head, Nelson destroyed the Danish fleet at Copenhagen. He was preparing to attack the other northern ports, when the Emperor Paul died, and was succeeded by Alexander, who A.D. } favoured Britain. A treaty with Austria was signed 1801. } at Luneville on the 5th of February, which restored matters nearly to the position in which they had been placed by the peace of Campo Formio. Negotiations had for some time been going on with Britain, and they were hastened to a conclusion by the French, on their being made acquainted before our government with the fact that their troops had found it necessary to evacuate Egypt. The treaty of Amiens was signed on the 25th of March 1802, the parties being Britain, France, Spain, and Holland. England restored to France the conquests made during the war, and it was agreed that Malta should be delivered over to the knights of St John, who were to be protected by the principal European powers. The treaty was received with great rejoicing both in France and England, and even the French avidity for military glory seemed to be satiated for a time.

#### EXERCISES.

1. Describe the effects produced by the fall of Robespierre. Who were the Jeunesse Dorée? What circumstances led to an insurrection? What was its result? What occurred at Quiberon?
2. Give an account of the Directory. Give an account also of the two legislative councils. How were the members elected? What measure was adopted the reverse of a previous measure of the Revolution? Give a history of the affair of the Sections. How was France at this time situated towards the rest of Europe?
3. Give an account of the state of the French army. What was wanting to make it formidable? Give an account of the origin and early character of Napoleon Bonaparte. How did he find influence with Barras? What appointment did that procure for him? What was the difference between the French and the German troops? How did the Italian campaign commence? Describe the affair of the Bridge of Lodi. What were the results of the campaign? What treaty was entered on? How was Napoleon received at Paris?
4. What were the inducements for invading England? What occurred at Malta? Who were the Mamelukes? What was the nature of the

battle of the Pyramids? Describe the manner in which the battle of the Nile was fought. What effect had it on Napoleon's position? What schemes did he devise? How was he baffled at Acre? What measure did he adopt? What was the subsequent history of affairs in Egypt? What effort was made in 1797? What was called the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor? How were Austria and Russia situated? What created discontents? How were they shown? What was the position of Barras? Give an account of Sièyes.

5. What effect did Napoleon's return exhibit? What is involved in mystery? Give an account of Fouché. Give an account of Talleyrand. How did a difficulty to Napoleon's projects arise with Sièyes? What was the plan adopted to put the legislative bodies at the mercy of the military? What means were taken to remove opposition to the intended Revolution? What position did Lucien Buonaparte hold? Give an account of the Revolution of Brumaire. What change did it create in the character of French history?

6. How was the new government constituted? How did Napoleon put himself at its head? What was remarkable in the beginning of his government? What attempt did Sièyes make? How was it counteracted? Describe the manner in which the legislative body was chosen by the new constitution. What was the function of the tribunate? What was the council of state? What was the conservative senate? What was the nature of the commencement of the consular government? Who was Moreau? What great retreat did he conduct? What celebrated victory did he gain?

7. What new warlike project did Napoleon devise? How and where did he gather an army to execute it? Describe the passage of the troops over the Great St Bernard. What risks did they incur? How were they interrupted? What was the effect of the crossing of the Alps? Give an account of the battle of Marengo. What treaty was entered into at Luneville? What was called the treaty of Amiens?

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### FROM THE TREATY OF AMIENS TO THE TREATY OF TILSIT, A. D. 1802—1807.

The Legion of Honour—Restoration of the Clergy—Return of the Emigrants—Consulship for Life—The Code Napoleon—Royalist Conspiracies—The Empire—Coronation of Napoleon—Preparations for invading Britain—Battle of Trafalgar—The Austrian War—Confederation of the Rhine—Humiliation of Prussia—War with Russia—Treaty of Tilsit.

1. THE LEGION OF HONOUR.—The tendency of Napoleon's government was gradually to alter the levelling system of the republic, so that a gradation of ranks might

come into existence, he himself being the head, as it were, of the pyramid,—an object which the succession of grades of electors called Notabilities seemed of itself to accomplish. On the 19th of May 1802, he established, though after considerable opposition, the Legion of Honour. It conferred rank as a reward for services either civil or military, but it was so much more profusely devoted to the latter, that it is generally spoken of as a purely military distinction. It was composed at first of sixteen cohorts, each consisting of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries. The whole number of persons whose services would thus be recognised with more or less distinction amounted to 6512. It was represented that, though rank was thus conferred, the institution was purely republican, for the humblest in birth or original social position might aspire to participate in its honours. A more difficult measure was accomplished in the restoration of the clergy. After having been neglected and desecrated, the churches were reopened, and early in the spring of 1801 the vast Gothic cathedral of Notre Dame again witnessed the performance of high mass in its former grandeur, Napoleon and his court being present in regal splendour. The priesthood were attached to the state, and kept virtually independent of Rome; but the advantage of a hierarchy to the furtherance of the new policy was not neglected, and ten archbishops, with fifty bishops, were the first ranks in the establishment. Much to the satisfaction of all Europe, the obnoxious laws against Christianity were revoked, and the observance of Sunday was restored. The emigrants being friends of rank and royalty, it was thought well to court their return, and if their inclination lay rather too decidedly for the Bourbons, it might at all events be balanced against that of the Jacobins, which was for universal equality. They were classified according to their conduct, and all, except a small proportion, were at last found entitled to return. Naturally rejoicing to revisit their own country on any conditions, they crowded over, and immediately reinfused the aristocratic element into French society.

The names of his colleagues disappeared almost entirely from history, and Napoleon, as first consul, alone ruled

everything. The country looked to his possession of permanent power as so essentially a matter of course, that a vote to secure him in the consulate for ten years passed  
 8th May } almost without attracting notice. A national  
 1802. } vote was next taken on the question whether he should be consul for life. Upwards of three millions  
 August } and a half of primary electors voted for this mea-  
 1802. } sure, and those who were against it were too few to be noticeable. He now set about the suppression of any popular elements that yet remained in the legislature. As the power of the tribunes to debate on the measures before them might be a means of concentrating a formidable opposition, they were reduced from one hundred to fifty, in the belief that the smaller number would be the more easily intimidated. The legislative body, which could vote but not debate, was also diminished, and ingeniously divided into departments.

THE CODE.—Napoleon in the meantime accomplished for the country that service which he was wont to say would carry his name to a more remote posterity than any of his victories—the establishment of a uniform code of laws for France. It has already been mentioned that each province had its own laws, as different from those of its neighbours as the laws of Scotland are from those of England. The Revolution rather tended to jumble these systems into one inextricable heap than to simplify and consolidate them. Immediately on the establishment of the consulate, a commission was appointed consisting of four eminent jurists, Tronchet, Bigot, Portalis, and Malleville, to draw up the project of a civil code. The draft which they prepared was transmitted to the presidents of the different courts and other official persons for their criticism, and the whole was then considered by the council of state. After being thus fully matured, the system was laid before the tribunate, where it met with some opposition, but was ultimately adopted. Napoleon and his colleague Cambacérès took considerable interest in the discussion. The latter had previously made many efforts to accomplish such an object, but had failed in the confusions of the times. How far the real labours of this service, of which Napoleon generally has the whole credit, were performed by him, it

might be difficult to say. The simplicity, intelligibility, and compactness of the little book which contains the whole system of civil jurisprudence for a great nation, have attracted universal admiration, and the Code Napoléon has been adopted over the greater part of Europe. A criminal code, and other provisions, were subsequently added. During the empire, the whole series was called the Code Napoléon, but in later times the name of the Five Codes was given to it.

Even the short peace of Amiens only applied to the European powers, and the French sent a vast expedition into the Atlantic, from which they reaped little glory. Its design was the resubjection of the large French colony in the island of St Domingo, the slaves in which had successfully revolted, and made it into something like a free state. Toussaint Louverture, whom the emancipated negroes had named consul for life, was seized and brought over to France, where he was committed to one of the fortresses on the Jura. The fate he met with was never divulged; it has been supposed that he was put to death, and the whole transaction has fixed a lasting stain on Napoleon's character. As to the expedition, when the war broke out it was attacked on land by the negroes, and at sea by the British, and, reduced to a small fraction of its strength, was glad to escape from the island.

2. Almost from the moment when hostilities ceased, the first consul's aggrandizing and dictatorial conduct to the small powers bordering on France showed that there was little chance of a lasting peace. Great difficulty was naturally felt in adjusting the claims of the German principalities, so as to indemnify those who had to yield territory for enlarging the boundaries of France. Prussia, always a grasping country, was much encouraged as the ally of France; and indeed it was clear that the first consul would treat the small potentates just as suited best with his own interest and ambition, while his dictation had raised a civil war in Switzerland. On the other hand, alleging that France was not fulfilling the treaty, Britain refused to give up her hold on Malta. There was a great deal of low abuse of Napoleon in the English press, chiefly, to the credit of this country, supplied by French refugees. Con-

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scious how effectively he could put down such a thing at home, he was irritated beyond measure on beholding it from week to week, and he called on the government to repress it. This in a free country could not be accomplished, but Napoleon was told that he might bring an action against the publishers and writers. An individual of the name of Peltier was prosecuted and convicted; but ere this tardy process was concluded, war had broken out between the two countries.

Lord Whitworth, a quiet but firm man, was ambassador at Paris. In a public assemblage, when the representatives of many other powers were present, Napoleon attacked him about the conduct of Britain in blustering and offensive terms. There was something in this so unlike the habits of statesmen, and of French statesmen in particular, that some people maintain it was a mere piece of artifice for the purpose of alienating the British government, and occasioning a speedy war; while others say that it was an instance of the effect of rapid success on the strongest minds, and that Napoleon could not help playing the bully to a person opposing him. During his interviews with Lord Whitworth, he threw out more than one hint, that by a union of France and Britain the world might be held in subjection, since the one had the supremacy on the sea, and the other on the land. But it has been much questioned whether he ever seriously desired an alliance with this country, unless for the mere purpose of taking the best opportunity for advantageously breaking it. In fact, almost from the beginning of the peace he had been organizing a force for making an attack on the coast of Britain. The formal declaration of war took place in the summer of 1803, but few considerable operations had occurred until France ceased to be a republic.

ROYALIST CONSPIRACIES.—Some strange internal events took place before that occurrence—events which honest Frenchmen would in general wish to see blotted out of their annals. Napoleon was unwilling that a man so clever and unscrupulous as Fouché should be the minister of police. He felt that the powerful machinery once put in motion for his support, might with equal facility be directed to his overthrow; and when we see how Fouché treated him in the end, perhaps we shall find that there was some ground



for these suspicions. The ministry of police was suppressed, and Fouché named senator; but all his efforts were directed to bring about his restoration to office, and at length he attained his object. He was enabled, by his wonderful cunning and vigilance, to reveal that Georges Cadoudal, (supposed to be still in America, whither he had been exiled,) along with Pichegru and other fanatical royalists, was actually in Paris, and making arrangements for the explosion of a conspiracy which had been hatched in England. The leaders suffered death; but what chiefly created a mournful interest in the affair was the implication of Moreau, who was brought to trial. It is still much doubted whether he really had any concern in the conspiracy. He had performed the deeds that most nearly rivalled those of Napoleon; and indeed he had at his back the whole army of the Rhine, scarcely less devoted to him than the army of Italy was to Napoleon. The other great generals had at once agreed to become seconds in command, and on the whole Moreau was the first consul's most serious rival. To strike him down was an audacious act, and the tranquillity of Paris fluctuated sensitively during the investigation. The soldiers, who had to guard him as a criminal, paid him military honours; but the chief safety of the government lay in the circumstance that his army of the Rhine had been sent on the expedition to St Domingo. He was condemned to imprisonment; and perhaps, if he had undergone his punishment, he might have kept Napoleon sufficiently uneasy. But he was a man of impatient temperament, and he requested permission to go into banishment. Napoleon, delighted with an arrangement which would rid him of a formidable rival, acted on the occasion the part of a generous victor, and was liberal with pecuniary assistance to enable Moreau to leave France comfortably.

There was another matter connected with this conspiracy of Cadoudal which cast a dark suspicion on Napoleon. A Captain Wright, who had served under Sir Sidney Smith at Acre, and been the means of conveying Pichegru to France, was afterwards shipwrecked on the coast of Morbihan, and brought with all his crew to Paris, where they were examined as witnesses on the trial of Georges. Some time after

this Wright was found in his cell in the Temple with his throat cut. The French authorities gave out that he had committed suicide; others asserted that he was murdered in order to extinguish the evidence he could give as to the disgraceful methods resorted to by the police to extort confessions from their prisoners; but where there is despotic authority, it is the fate of those who wield it that such explanations are not believed, and treachery is suspected.

Another tragedy at this period brought still greater odium on Napoleon, and was followed by consequences which he never entirely surmounted. The young Duke of Enghien, descended from the Condé branch of the Bourbons, was residing at Ettenheim in the duchy of Baden, not far from the French frontier. Napoleon believed, or pretended to believe, that the young man was plotting against the republic, and had been present at royalist conferences in Paris. It was said, on the other hand, that he was a gay, careless youth, unfit for a conspirator, and that he only left his home to participate in the sports of the field. It is considered the grossest outrage to violate an independent territory even in search of a real criminal, but Napoleon did not hesitate to send troops into Baden, who seized the duke, and brought him to Strasburg, the nearest fortified French town. Thence he was transferred to Vincennes, which had succeeded the Bastille as the state prison of the new tyranny. There he was brought before a military commission, which sat not to try but to condemn him; and he was shot immediately after by torchlight, in the ditch of the fortress, and laid in a grave ready dug. It would be curious to know if Napoleon, when he afterwards in exile fixed on the spot of his lonely grave, ever reflected on that other lonely grave in the ditch of Vincennes. A characteristic remark of Fouché, who had been restored to the management of the police, has often been quoted as showing his wit and lax morality: he said the murder of the Duke of Enghien was worse than a crime—it was a *mistake*.

3. THE EMPIRE.—These bloody deeds were not to meet their immediate reward: on the contrary, they heralded Napoleon's ascent to the summit of his grandeur. In the spring of 1804, movements began in the council of state

and the tribunate for making France a kingdom, and bestowing its crown on Napoleon. The hint was no sooner given than a torrent of addresses from the army, the public municipal bodies, and the citizens of every kind and class, poured in, demanding the fulfilment of this object. The people were frantic with eagerness, and the legislature was not slow in seconding their impetuosity. The senate changed the name of the supreme governor, but it was referred to the votes of the citizens whether the office should be hereditary in the family of Napoleon, when upwards of three millions and a-half of votes were recorded for the proposition, and not three thousand against it. To excel in brilliancy the greatest days of the Bourbons, the new monarch was to be called emperor. The title had been used in old Rome to designate not merely a certain specific dominion, but supremacy over the world; and in no less dazzling a vision did Napoleon and his satellites indulge. The decree declaring him Emperor of the French was dated 20th May 1804.

At the time when he was chosen emperor, Napoleon was absent on a tour, partly triumphal, like a royal progress, and partly to superintend the great warlike operations of which we shall shortly have to speak. It was decided that the ceremony of the coronation should take place with a magnificence beyond that even of the gorgeous Louis XIV. An archbishop or a cardinal was not a sufficient minister to anoint so great a prince—the pope himself came from Rome to perform the office. The coronation took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame, made as superb as wealth and genius could make it. All the old insignia of royalty that had survived the storm of the Revolution were brought forth to grace the occasion, and associate the emperor with the old dynasty back to the days of Charlemagne. The very form of the ceremony was strikingly indicative of the boldness and presumption of the man. He would not permit the pope to crown him, but lifted the diadem from the altar, and placed it on his own head, and then crowned Josephine, who was seated by his side. He was fond of dramatic effect, and especially of startling people with his own greatness. Thus it is said of him, that there was a petty attorney who opposed his marriage

to Josephine, as believing that it was not sufficiently advantageous for her, and that this man was specially required to attend the ceremony, that he might judge how far his prediction was well founded. The brothers and sisters of the emperor were now imperial highnesses. His connexions, of various grades, took rank according to their nearness. A glittering heap of titles was created for the great offices, so that the recollections of the old monarchy, with its appendages, were homely and meagre. Such was the revolution of fortunes in a country which sought to establish a free government suddenly and violently, and not by a gradual adaptation to the state of the times, as the British constitution has been formed. He failed not to communicate a sufficient portion of the new distributions of dignity to the army, and eighteen of his most distinguished generals received the title of Marshal of the Empire. It was not the least glorious feature of the change, that under the settled government of four years France was recovering from her losses, and every honour she bestowed on her favourite hero seemed to add something to her prosperity.

4. PROJECT OF INVADING BRITAIN.—No battles had been fought between the renewal of hostilities and the creation of the empire, but Hanover and some other countries had been forcibly occupied, in defiance, as it were, of all Europe. . Meanwhile preparations, on such a scale as the world had never witnessed—and never, it may be hoped, shall witness again—were in progress; and we now know that an invasion of Britain, then reposing unconscious of the extent of her danger, was their object. A central camp was established at Boulogne. Thence, on each side along the coast, from Dunkirk on the north to Brest and other French ports on the west, went on the ceaseless building of vessels and preparation of victuals, ammunition, and all kinds of military stores. The docks and vessels of the captured ports were seized, and applied to the emperor's purposes. Harbours of refuge, docks, and piers had to be hastily constructed, and, to provide materials for these, quarries were excavated and forests cut down, to be used for any purposes to which green wood was adapted. Tradesmen of all kinds—carpenters, smiths, shoemakers, bakers, tailors, and the like—were brought

together in a vast army, and made to work, partly by force and partly by high pay. France never had such an aspect of continued energy and business. In fact, the emperor had formed the mighty project of embarking an army of 150,000 men, with upwards of 10,000 horses, and three or four hundred pieces of cannon, and landing them on the devoted coast of Britain. Now, as a large man-of-war can only, besides its sailors, convey from six to seven hundred soldiers, it would have required more than two hundred of such vessels to transport his intended army. From twenty to thirty first-rate vessels form, however, a large naval force, and to have such a fleet as would convey the whole was completely out of the question. Nay, could it have been found, the harbours of Britain could not have accommodated it even in detail, and the men must have been landed a thousand or two in one port, and so many in another, all scattered and separated. Napoleon, however, bethought him of an entirely different plan, which steam would have materially aided, had it been then used for propelling vessels. He had large flat-bottomed boats built, which might rather be compared to rafts with walls round them; and these he thought, if a propitious day offered, he might at once get rowed over the Channel under the protection of a large fleet. Instead of going into harbours, they might be stranded anywhere, and the whole force might be landed on some convenient sandy beach. It was in the preparation of these vessels that the great shipbuilding establishments were occupied. The men, under Napoleon's own eye, were trained in the method of rowing about these clumsy vessels, and especially of running them on the strand, and dashing out upon the shore with their arms ready for action. This operation did not go on without disturbance from the British cruisers, who were to be found in every sea, and swarmed in the Channel. As the gunboats made in distant ports crept along the coast to Boulogne, they were often captured or battered to pieces. Nay, Napoleon was still so far from setting his foot triumphantly on British soil, that from the vessels hovering in the neighbourhood he saw many a cannon-ball come plunging through his arsenals and dock-yards; and on one occasion, at least, a small party of British seamen, landing at night, created an immense destruction in

his grand preparations. Thus he had to keep them ever vigilantly fortified, and he was obliged to erect batteries on floating rafts, which were left by the tide when it retired, that he might always have guns as near as possible to the edge of the water. The invasion was appointed for July or August 1805. It was necessary that all the available ships of France, and of Spain which had formed an alliance with the empire, along with those of Holland and the other states under French dictation, should be concentrated, to protect the passage of the gunboats, which, though well fortified with cannon, like a set of floating batteries, would have been sadly at the mercy of the English men-of-war, as they could not manœuvre, and must have been run down or battered to pieces. Extraordinary secrecy, such as none but a despotic government could preserve, was maintained about the arrangements for accomplishing this object. False rumours were cunningly circulated in the quarters where they would most likely tell, as to great expeditions against the British dependencies in the East and in the West. Two large squadrons were fitted out, the one at Toulon, the other at Rochefort. These were sent to the West Indies with sealed orders as to their further destination, so that the commanders could not communicate the secret, because they did not know it until they broke the seal of their instructions at the appointed place. It appeared as if this were an attempt on the British West India colonies, but in reality the fleets were only to unite there, and return as fast as possible to the Channel, to guard the passage of the gunboats. Britain never, in the course of all her wars since she became a civilized country, incurred so great a risk. The country was up in arms, eager for hostilities with France, but it was not aware of the extent of the force prepared for an invasion, or of the gigantic operations for enabling it to land in a state fit for immediate action. The view adopted by Napoleon was, that as Britain was supreme on the sea, and France on the land, the battle for supremacy was decided whenever the safety of Britain could be staked on a land war. It may be hoped that he was mistaken; but whatever the result might have been, the invasion, had it taken place, would without any doubt have created inexpressible calamities in Britain. Napoleon

calculated on collecting sixty sail of the line—a prodigious naval force—to protect the passage of his flat-bottomed boats.

But in the meantime his subtle operations were the object of unceasing vigilance to one whose mind was scarcely less ardent and penetrating than his own. Nelson was sweeping the seas in pursuit of the fleet under the command of the French admiral Villeneuve, knowing from his cautious and peculiar movements that he had some deep design, which it would be for the interest of Britain to baffle by destroying his fleet. While Nelson, misled by all kinds of false intelligence, swept the seas in vain, Villeneuve's fleet of French and Spanish vessels combined was encountered by Admiral Calder off Ferrol. The British admiral took two ships and disabled some others, so that the French and Spanish sought safety by retiring into port. This was not one of the brilliant naval victories of Britain, but it had a peculiar and most important influence on the war, for it completely broke up the complicated arrangement for the invasion of England. In fact, the French admiral felt it so dangerous to take the sea while there was a British force on the watch, that he was seeking refuge in the port of Cadiz at the time when he was expected at Brest to protect the gunboats.

TRAFALGAR.—Nelson was now sent out against Villeneuve with a really powerful force. The French admiral had so profound a sense of the risk of encountering the British fleet, that Nelson was obliged to keep his ships much concealed in order to induce him to leave the harbour. The unfortunate French admiral was in reality in a very unenviable position. Napoleon was no sailor himself, had scarcely been on shipboard except in proceeding to Egypt, and had the false notion that seamen could be as easily made as soldiers. Villeneuve knew the comparative worthlessness of his own men, and had very little reliance on his auxiliary Spanish force, which used large and gorgeous vessels, but consisted of poor seamen. He knew, at the same time, that opposed to him were the best sailors in the world, commanded by a man who might cope with his own imperial master in most of the warrior's qualifications, and would excel him in fierce hand-to-hand

conflict. But Villeneuve was a brave man, and, little as he was thanked for it afterwards or remembered by his countrymen, he did his duty sincerely and resolutely. His fleet, with the huge Spanish ships which had joined it, was ranged in the shape of a half-moon, in two rows, the front row having a space between each ship, and the back row having the same, but in such alternation, that where there was a space between the ships in the front line, it was covered by a ship at anchor in the second line. Thus at a distance the whole appeared as one line of ships, ranged in the form of a crescent. As at the battle of the Nile, the French arrangements were made for protection rather than victory, and Villeneuve believed that the shoals in his immediate vicinity would prevent his line from being cut according to the usual tactics of the English. His precautions were in vain, however, for it was penetrated in two separate places. The British fleet advanced in two divisions right in the face of the crescent, Nelson commanding one, and Collingwood, who came first into action, commanding the other. Nelson had told his captains beforehand, that if signals were not noticed, or could not be obeyed, no one would be wrong in laying his vessel alongside an adversary's, and fighting it. This was the manner in which the battle was conducted, and, with the experienced commanders and determined sailors of the British, it told fearfully against the totally inferior officers and crews of the French and the Spanish vessels. The British lost their gallant admiral by a shot from a rifleman; but their victory was so signal, that the French maritime power might be considered as extinguished, and the result of all the vast efforts made at the camp of Boulogne and along the coast was like a house of cards, which fell to the ground when a blow was dealt at one essential part of the structure. It was a remarkable instance of the completeness of the despotism then established in France, that the people in general never heard of the battle of Trafalgar until the restoration of the Bourbons. Napoleon ever after, when talking on such topics, appears to have spoken of naval warfare as something of a second-rate character, beneath the notice of a commanding genius; and he made it be supposed that his vast maritime preparations at Bou-



logne were merely a pretence to mask his real designs, keeping long concealed the fact that he really had intended an invasion of Britain.

5. When the time for the invasion had been long deferred, and the great host were in daily expectation of being ordered on board their flat-bottomed boats, on the 1st of September a movement in a contrary direction was communicated to them. All the necessary arrangements had been made for an expedition against the Austrians, and the huge army, moving like a machine, instead of embarking to cross the Channel, marched towards the Rhine. Events had taken place which increased the strength of France in the new war. Holland had become a royal appendage of the empire. The republic that had been created in Italy offered itself as a separate kingdom to Napoleon, and he was crowned with the old iron diadem of the kings of Lombardy in the cathedral of Milan. The Italians hailed him as their own countryman; and it is not wonderful that they should have claimed some glory to themselves in this coronation, for he was their deliverer from the Austrian yoke; and while he had made them a kingdom by means of his supreme dominion over France, they naturally looked on him with pride as a fellow-countryman. Genoa desired to be incorporated with France, and here the conqueror made another triumphal entry. The smaller states, such as Lucca, Parma, and Placentia, followed the example, and the various districts which desired his protection afforded him the prospect of making principalities for his relations. His sister got Lucca, and his brother-in-law Murat was afterwards made King of Naples.

The other sovereigns of the world stood amazed and horrified at this sudden revulsion from republicanism. A few years earlier they dreaded the influence of revolutionary principles undermining their kingly power—now they had the more fearful apparition of a giant monarch swallowing them up one by one. To Britain alone could they look for aid and protection, and a league was made with Russia and Austria, Britain, as usual, agreeing to be paymaster. Subsequent disasters might have been avoided if Prussia had joined the alliance; but that government, which was then the most selfish and unnational in Europe,

hung back in the hope that, by an alliance with Napoleon, she might get possession of Hanover. Other German princes—the electors of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden—with more honesty, allied themselves to France, and sent contingents of troops to join the French army on its march to the Rhine and the Danube. It has been stated that the force prepared to invade England was suddenly directed on Germany. By adding to it additional troops, the whole army amounted to 270,000 men, and this host was far on its way to Vienna, with every day's march accurately laid down for each division, before the new allies were at all aware of the movement. If their forces had been united, they would have amounted to a still larger number, but the Russians were yet far distant; and it was Napoleon's plan, in pursuance of his old policy, to annihilate the Austrians before they came up. The Austrian general, Mack, occupied the fortress of Ulm, near the battle-field of Blenheim, and there, to his great surprise and bewilderment, he saw himself suddenly surrounded by a French army amounting to nearly 70,000 men. Instead of holding out during a protracted siege, which he ought in the end to have baffled, and which at all events would have given time for the concentration of the Austrian and Russian forces, he at once capitulated, and Napoleon, with stern pride, received the arms of 30,000 men in a strong fortress, who had not struck a single blow for its defence. Mack was afterwards condemned to imprisonment for twenty years; and his conduct was so unlike that of a veteran soldier, that many people still maintain that he was bribed by Napoleon to surrender to him. But the old general appears in reality to have been stupified and distracted by operations so different from his own old-fashioned system as to be beyond his calculations.

AUSTERLITZ.—The course of the Danube was now open, and Napoleon marched rapidly on Vienna. He had little difficulty in securing possession of the proud capital of the German empire, and addressing his despatches from the imperial palace of Schönbrunn. This proceeding was more bold than prudent, and Napoleon was conscious that his position was unsafe. The Russian army under Kutusow was passing through Moravia, while the Archduke Charles

was advancing from Italy. Accessions were also daily made to the troops from the most distant parts of the Austrian dominions, and Prussia was expected to join the coalition. The two emperors, Alexander of Russia and Francis of Germany, had formed a junction, and had 90,000 men at their command, while Napoleon, having to spare a considerable portion of his men to protect the passage back to the Rhine, had only 70,000 at his command at Vienna. He had now two objects in view which appeared incompatible; the one was to keep himself in a strong position, and the other was to fight a decisive battle before the forces of the allies were augmented. He took his position at Austerlitz, a few leagues distant from Vienna, and there waited with great impatience to be attacked. Fortune seemed resolved to favour him in all things, for a notion possessed the Russians that he showed timidity, and consciousness of the danger of his situation. They remembered how often he had been victorious by striking an immediate blow, and they thought to follow his example. On the 2d of December 1805 was fought the battle of Austerlitz. The sun shone with unusual lustre, and "The sun of Austerlitz" afterwards became a common saying in France. A false position was taken up by the allies from the very beginning, and the battle ended in the destruction of their joint army, and the greatest of Napoleon's victories. A severe insult had been offered by Napoleon to the King of Prussia, by a portion of the French army having passed through his territories. After long hesitation, Frederick came to terms with the Emperor Francis, and Baron Haugwitz was despatched to Vienna. It was understood that his mission was to threaten Napoleon with a declaration of war, unless he agreed to restore the condition of Europe according to the treaty of Luneville. Whatever were his precise instructions, Haugwitz prudently waited until the battle of Austerlitz was over, and then, instead of carrying a threatening message to Napoleon, offered him the congratulations which were intended for the Emperor of Austria. It is said that Napoleon was much amused by the short time that elapsed between the battle and the congratulations offered to him by the Prussian court, and that, knowing it to be impossible for the representative to

have been instructed how to act, he sarcastically accused Haugwitz of having changed the address of the letter of congratulation. Prussia was believed to be a valuable accession to Napoleon, and that state obtained Hanover, the object of its desire—ceding in return Cleves, Anspach, and Neuchatel, which were convenient as enabling Napoleon to round off the empire, or rather that part of it which was properly called France. Though victorious, it was the interest of Napoleon to encourage offers for peace, and negotiations were conducted at Presburg in Hungary. By the treaty which followed, the French boundary was enlarged, the new Italian states, which had Napoleon for their head, were acknowledged by Austria; and the sovereignties of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, to show the conqueror's sense of their good conduct in supporting him, were rewarded by increase of dignity and accessions of territory. He began to act already as if he were emperor of the world, by converting some of these petty princes into kings. As a small and ordinary piece of business, he issued a proclamation that the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign, and his brother Joseph was appointed to that throne, which, however, from the resistance of the natives, assisted by the British, he found it difficult to ascend. On the 5th of June 1806, his brother Louis was nominated King of Holland, and the Venetian states were partitioned into small feudal principalities or lordships for the distinguished marshals who had assisted the mighty conqueror in his wars. Murat, the brother-in-law of the emperor, a dashing soldier, who had risen from the ranks by his courage and ardour, was made Grand-duke of Cleves and Berg, where he would be a serviceable guard over the conduct of the slippery King of Prussia, whom Napoleon soon began to treat with contempt and suspicion.

6. CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE.—But the most important of all the revolutions in the old settled aspect of Europe was the severance of the smaller states from the empire of Germany. That empire was, in a manner, the legitimate successor of the old Roman dominion, and though nominally elective, the power of the hereditary states of Austria had become so great as to absorb the whole influence in the selection of the emperor. Following

a scheme of Napoleon's, sixteen of the minor states of Germany in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, such as Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, seceded from the empire, and formed themselves into the Confederation of the Rhine, under the protection of Napoleon. Thus in Germany itself France became possessed of an influence which would counterpoise either that of Austria or Prussia; and the offices with high-sounding names, which used to be held by the princes of the empire, as Arch-chancellor, Arch-chamberlain, &c., were transferred to the court of Napoleon. After this dismemberment, the Emperor Francis treated the old German empire as extinguished, and, taking his title from his hereditary possessions, proclaimed himself Emperor of Austria.

In the meantime Britain, which was gradually destroying the small remnant of the French fleet, ruled supreme on the ocean. Between the emperor of the land and the lord of the waves the trimming King of Prussia was awkwardly situated. He would fain have pleased both parties by pretending that the occupation of Hanover was a mere temporary arrangement; but he was obliged to abandon such a subterfuge, and the vengeance of Britain falling instantly upon him, the seas were at once swept of every ship which belonged to himself or his subjects. And yet, after he had thus provoked punishment from a government which in honesty he should have aided, he gained so little by his subserviency to France, that Napoleon coolly offered back Hanover to the English crown as part of the conditions of a projected treaty, while contributions were levied and insults heaped on the Prussians which roused them to fury against the French, and against their own contemptible government. At length that government was compelled to declare war. The victories of the Great Frederick had made the Prussians, and especially the courtiers, conceited about the warlike qualities of their country, and sanguine as to the result of a contest. But the army was in a state very unfit to meet veteran troops trained on the new system. Frederick, indeed, though he made a fine army for the moment, essentially undermined the military and patriotic spirit of the Prussians, for he adopted the system that none but those of noble birth were fit to hold

any kind of military rank or command, and thus the common soldiers became stupid, brutalized, and unambitious. Nor were their commanders much better, according to Menzel the German historian, who says of them, "All the higher officers in the army were old men, promotion depending not upon merit, but upon length of service. The young officers were radically bad, owing to their airs of nobility and licentious garrison life. Their manners and principles were equally vulgar. Licentiousness, horses, dogs, and gambling formed the staple of their conversation; they despised all solid learning, and when decorated on parade in their enormous cocked-hats and plumes, powdered wigs and queues, tight leather breeches and great boots, they swore at and cudgelled the men, and strutted about with conscious heroism." The government, before proceeding to actual hostilities against Napoleon, proposed to wait until the arrival of an allied force from Russia; but it was not Napoleon's custom to permit his enemies thus quietly to combine, and he was speedily on the way to Berlin with a large and well-organized army. The Prussian army went forth amid the rejoicings of the capital. It was commanded by the old Prince Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, who was accompanied by the king and queen. They conducted their operations with so little of the rigid precaution and prompt movement of modern warfare, that Napoleon, as he surprised post after post, laughed, and said the Prussians were still stupider than the Austrians. In one of these skirmishes the Prince Louis of Prussia was killed, while fighting bravely hand to hand; and such an event seems for the first time to have shown the Prussian commander that his position was serious. The army was broken up into several bodies, just as that of Austria had been. Hohenlohe was, however, very strongly stationed on the heights of Jena, surrounded by rugged ground; but he was so little prepared for an attack, that he permitted the French to climb unopposed the hills commanding his position. Napoleon, by stimulating his men to enormous exertions, in which he aided with his own hand, made such good use of the opportunity, that on the morning of the 14th A.D. } of October the Prussian general was awakened by the  
1806. } sound of cannon; and as he performed his toilet be-

fore reconnoitring, he was informed that he was in the presence of Napoleon, with an army of ninety thousand men posted on the heights. He was completely routed, and all efforts from other detachments to come up to his aid only added to the number of fugitives. Davoust at the same time gained a victory as signal and unexpected over the portion of the army commanded by the king, and received from Napoleon the title of Duke of Aüerstadt, from the place where the battle was fought. It would be tedious to enumerate the other smaller conflicts which followed, all disastrous to Prussia. Napoleon lost no time in taking advantage of his success, and on the 25th of November he entered Berlin, to the shame and dismay of its citizens, and took up his residence in the palace. Rendered doubly haughty by the symptoms of treachery which he had seen in the Prussian court, he insulted all parties—the king, the amiable queen, the nobles, and the people. He levied a large contribution for the support of his armies, and intimated his intention to keep Prussia tributary to France until the proclamation of a general peace, in which England should be included.

The approach of the Russians did not give him time to attempt the complete subjugation of the people of Prussia, which he might have found more difficult than defeating their armies. He now began to make great use of the states he had rendered tributary in augmenting his army, and Saxony, attached to the Rhenish confederation, gave him a large contingent. The secret of these Germans so readily following him, and seemingly abandoning their nationality, is, that in reality they felt him a deliverer. Strict and despotic as was his rule, they were not under his government subject to the grinding and degrading oppression of their own petty princes. The humbler classes especially felt their condition much improved, and whether as soldiers under Napoleon's banner, or as peasants in a country protected by him, they were less liable to be taxed, annoyed, and oppressed than they had formerly been. Poland, enslaved by Russia, now rose with enthusiasm in favour of Napoleon, and afforded him such a contingent of troops as made of itself a considerable army. In these circumstances he advanced towards the Niemen,

but the conflicts with the stubborn Russians were of a doubtful character, and he spent his winter in Warsaw after the least successful, hitherto, of his campaigns. He was roused to action early in the ensuing season by hearing that Bernadotte and Ney had, by a successful adoption of his own tactics, been separately attacked and driven in. On the 7th of February 1807, after some severe skirmishes, he encountered the Russians, aided by a small Prussian force, at Eylau. The battle, fought amidst ice and snow-storms, was one of the most obstinate in the whole war. Through its entire duration the promise of victory wavered from side to side, and in the end it was difficult to say which had the superiority. The extent of slaughter showed the equality of the conflict, for in general a signal victory is not attended by great loss on *both* sides. Out of 85,000 the French lost 30,000, and out of a somewhat smaller army the Russians lost 25,000. Napoleon himself was in imminent personal danger during the battle, and it was believed that at its termination he would have retreated had not the Russian commander done so, leaving him with the appearance, at all events, of a victory. Before summer was far advanced, the French emperor had, from the various sources at his command, concentrated the largest army that had appeared in late European warfare, consisting of nearly 200,000 effective men. Great as were the resources of the Russian emperor, he could not bring an army into the field at once so numerous and compact; but his territory, from its vast extent, was, as the French afterwards found, a difficult one to invade, and he could trust in some measure to its natural defences. He lost on the 14th of June the obstinately contested battle of Friedland; and having been disappointed in his expectations of large pecuniary aid from Britain, he showed a disposition to treat.

**TILSIT.**—A secret personal interview was afterwards arranged between the emperors, and they met each other on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen near Tilsit. Of what took place at this memorable conference there have been many rumours, and in some accounts it is stated that Alexander began by saying emphatically that he hated the British as heartily as Napoleon could. It was natural



that the two most potent despots in the world should rival each other in disliking a country where personal freedom and equal justice still lingered. They laid down a private plan for dividing the world between them, in which it was arranged that Russia should have the East and France the West. Prussia became an humble party to the treaty: her Polish dominions were given to Saxony, those between the Elbe and the Rhine were made into the kingdom of Westphalia for Jerome Bonaparte, and in one way or other half the Prussian dominions were severed from the kingdom.

## EXERCISES.

1. What was the tendency of Napoleon's government? What new honour did he create? What did he effect as to the clergy? How did he act towards the emigrants? How was he permanently seated in power? What measure did he speak of as likely to be remembered longer than his victories? Who were appointed to draw up a code? What was its nature when completed? What expedition took place during the peace? Give the history, and what is known of the fate of Toussaint Louverture.

2. What showed that there was little chance of lasting peace? What incensed Napoleon against the English government? What occurred with Lord Whitworth? What occurred as to Fouché? What conspiracy was formed? How was Moreau treated? What was the history of Captain Wright? Who was the Duke of Enghien? Give an account of his fate?

3. What movements began in the council of state? How was it intended that Napoleon's reign should outshine that of the Bourbons? When was he made emperor? Give an account of his coronation. What dignities did he create? What made his government respected in France?

4. What great invasion was projected? What was the nature of the camp at Boulogne? Give an account of the difficulties in the way of the transmission of troops to Britain, and the plans which Napoleon projected for overcoming them. How was he awakened to a sense of the power of the British sea forces? What arrangements did he make for bringing his fleets to the Channel? How was it discovered? Give an account of the battle of Trafalgar.

5. What movement was given to the troops when the plan of an invasion of Britain was defeated? What territories joined the French emperor? Give an account of the state of Europe. What was the nature of General Mack's conduct? Give an account of the battle of Austerlitz. How did Prussia act? How did Napoleon treat the subjugated nations?

6. What was the Confederation of the Rhine? What influence did it give to France? How was Prussia situated? What was the character of the Prussian army? Give an account of the battle of Jena. Under what circumstances and with whom were the battles of Eylau and Friedland fought? What treaty followed them?

## CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE TREATY OF TILSIT TO THE END OF THE  
PENINSULAR WAR, A. D. 1807—1813.

The Berlin and Milan Decrees—State of France—Seizure of Spain and Portugal—Battle of Corunna—The Austrian War—Vienna—Battles of Aspern and Wagram—Maria Louisa—The Russian Campaign—Burning of Moscow—The Peninsular War—Wellington—The Regeneration of Germany—The Battle of Leipzig.

1. THE BERLIN AND MILAN DECREES.—Thus master of the continent of Europe, Napoleon determined to make one great final effort for the destruction of Britain, by closing the continental market against her manufactures. It was like compelling a tradesman to shut up shop by prohibiting the whole town from dealing with him. So early as the 21st November 1806 he had issued the Berlin decree, which declared the British Islands in a state of blockade, and rendered all vessels trading with them liable to be seized by the French ships of war—for such is the privilege possessed by belligerents when there is an actual blockade. By a subsequent decree, all neutral vessels, to preserve themselves from forfeiture, were required to have on board certificates by French consuls that no part of their cargo was British. Every vessel which touched at a British ports was liable to confiscation, and so was all British merchandise, wherever found. On the 17th December 1807, the Milan decree was issued, which extended the blockade with its prohibitions to the British colonies and dependencies in every part of the world. The British government immediately retaliated by Orders in Council, which denounced pretty nearly the same restrictions and forfeitures against the French. Thus the whole world was, as it were, set at war on the sea. No power could be neutral, for if it did not obey the decrees, it provoked Napoleon, and if it obeyed them, it was treated by Britain as an enemy.

While the British had infinitely the advantage in all the maritime part of the contest, it seemed at first that Napoleon had a stronger hold on Britain, since by his power he could shut up the markets, without which the source of British wealth would be paralyzed. But it was utterly impossible, even with his armies, and penalties, and customhouse officers, to make all the world abandon the cheapest and best goods. Smuggling became a large and lucrative trade. A certain additional price was charged for the goods, to pay for the risk of seizure and for the smuggler's exertions; and the matter was made so systematic, that the insurance offices for a premium guaranteed the safe arrival of the goods—that is to say, for a small sum agreed to pay the value of them, if they were seized. Napoleon had the sense to see that some persons must make large sums of money by overcoming the difficulties he created, and he thought it better that his own treasury should reap the profit than the smuggler. For this purpose a number of licenses to trade with England were sold at high prices; and all that the vaunted decrees succeeded in accomplishing was to cripple and contract the British trade by limiting the channels through which it passed. But there was a transition going on in Britain that not only helped to defeat Napoleon's restrictions, but made their period one of the most prosperous which the British manufacturer ever knew. Arkwright had invented the machines which cheapened production; and when the people of the continent could obtain their clothing and finery from England at a fourth of the price of continental goods, no power on earth could compel them to forego the temptation. Hence it has sometimes been said that the mule and the spinning-jenny were the real conquerors of Napoleon.

STATE OF FRANCE.—The power which Napoleon had acquired by his conquests enabled him to become more despotic at home. He was not content with having reduced the tribunate to a mere shadow—he abolished it altogether. He could endure no contradiction, opposition, or free criticism, and the press was closely trammelled. Besides their national vanity, excited by his victories, there were many inducements to make the French submit to his system. He preserved order, and in all matters

which had no concern with politics, justice was well administered between man and man. He levied large contributions on the conquered states, which served to raise up against him the enmity that was afterwards fatal to his power; but in the meantime these exactions were not only gratifying to the national vanity of France, but kept the government well supplied with money, which was expended in the construction of public works, such as roads, harbours, bridges, and the like. Thus the working classes were fully employed, and a universal feeling of prosperity was for the time diffused through the whole country. But there was one drawback on all this,—the relentless manner in which the male population were drained away by the military conscriptions: still individuals could not complain of a hardship which tended to nourish the national vanity with which the people at large were so fully inflated. There was a great concentration of what the French consider glory for some years after the peace of Tilsit; but the history of the country was uniform, like military operations, and was a striking contrast to the perpetual shiftings and convulsions of the revolutionary epoch. Whatever there is to narrate of the history of France until the fall of Napoleon consists almost entirely of foreign warfare, occasioned by his boundless ambition.

2. THE SEIZURE OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—Hitherto Napoleon had seized upon small principalities only or dependencies on large nations. He had dictated very hard terms to the greater powers of Europe, but had not ventured to incorporate any one of them permanently with his empire. He now resolved to make an important seizure, and to add the peninsula of Spain and Portugal to his dominions. He had two reasons for this—one was the simple enlargement of his empire; the other, the extinction of the monarchies of the Bourbon family, whose existence in Europe always tended to give his own power a modern and upstart appearance. He easily raised a quarrel with Portugal, by requiring the government to confiscate the property of the English merchants. This they refused to do, though they had consented to adopt the exclusive system, and interdict all trade and connexion with Great Britain. The unhappy country was overrun by an army

under Junot, and the royal family, following the example that had been set them by other distinguished houses, escaped by the aid of a British fleet to the Portuguese possessions in America. A proclamation was issued in the Nov. 13, }  
1807. } French official paper, the *Moniteur*, to the effect that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign. It was a more difficult matter to get possession of Spain; but here Napoleon acted with profound dissimulation, and showed that the greatest conqueror of his day was capable of the most despicable cunning. His plan was, if possible, to allure the old king and the other members of the royal family into his own dominions, and then, when they were in his power, to extract from them abdications which might prove his excuse for taking possession of the country. The unhappy state of the royal family seemed to favour his designs, and he watched their proceedings as a spider watches a fly approaching the meshes of his net. The king was in the hands of an infamous favourite, detested by the people, who by an insurrection compelled Charles IV. to abdicate in Mar. 19, }  
1808. } favour of his son Ferdinand. Now was the time for Napoleon to act, by setting the influence of the one against the other. He sent General Savary, a wily negotiator, whose instructions were, not to acknowledge the son, but to profess a religious respect for the rights of the father, and by degrees to entice them both into the French territory on some plausible excuse. At the same time, he sent Murat with a large army, instructed to appear very peaceable, and amicably disposed towards the people, and only anxious to prevent disturbances. He acted so adroitly that he got possession of fortress after fortress, left them strongly garrisoned with French troops, and penetrated to Madrid without bloodshed. Savary in the meantime persuaded Ferdinand to proceed to Burgos, where he expected Napoleon to meet him, and then prevailed with him to advance farther on, and cross the Pyrenees to Bayonne in the French territory, where Napoleon waited to complete his plot. He resisted all Napoleon's efforts to make him abdicate; but the dexterity of Savary had sent the old king and the queen speedily after him, to seek the good offices of Napoleon. Even the emperor's great panegyrist, Thiers, admits that all this was the effect of profound trickery. "It is pre-

tended," he says, "that the deplorable scene of Bayonne sprung from the hazard of events—that the royal family of Spain, father, mother, son, brother, uncles, all came by a species of involuntary impulse to throw themselves into the hands of Napoleon. I know not whether Napoleon would be much more excusable in this hypothesis than the other. Be that as it may, the proofs exist, and leave no doubt upon the subject." The old king was easily intimidated into a resignation of all pretensions to the throne, and the son, partly by persuasion, partly by the dread of fatal consequences, was obliged to concur. The royal family were kept in splendid and luxurious imprisonment in the interior of France during the remainder of the war, and Joseph Bonaparte was appointed king of Spain.

But the kingdoms of the Peninsula were not to be thus quietly transferred to a foreign master. Though idle, poor, ill governed, and disturbed by factions, the common people were actuated by a strong spirit of national independence. Napoleon knew the nature of armies and of governments better than of the people, and he disposed his forces in Spain so as to awe the capital and keep possession of the fortresses, and then thought he had done all that was necessary for preserving the country in subjection; but the inhabitants rose throughout Spain, and soon showed how impossible it is for the greatest armies completely to subjugate a nation when the people refuse to submit. A peasantry fighting against foreign invaders generally consider that they are not bound by the rules of what is called civilized warfare, and that they may exterminate their enemies by any means in their power. Thus atrocious cruelties were perpetrated by the insurgents on many of the French soldiers who fell into their hands, and the French, in retaliation, tried to excel them in their barbarity. It was the policy of Britain to undermine Napoleon by some great effort in support of a nation struggling against his dominion, and a better opportunity could not, it was supposed, be imagined than both Spain and Portugal now afforded. A small force under Sir Arthur Wellesley, Aug. }  
1808. } afterwards Duke of Wellington, and another under Sir John Moore, were sent to aid the Portuguese. They were signally successful against the comparatively

small French force which occupied Portugal, and thus commenced that Peninsular war which, along with his other conflicts throughout Europe, drove Napoleon from his imperial throne. A convention, executed at Cintra, by which the French were permitted to evacuate Portugal, was received with great dissatisfaction in Britain, as granting them terms too advantageous. Napoleon, towards the end of this year, had another long conference with the Emperor of Russia. Having used his best address to keep his brother emperor in good humour without conceding his wish to get possession of Constantinople, he organized a powerful army, with a view of crushing the Spaniards before Britain could afford them effectual aid. His brother had been driven from the capital, but a force was now brought against it which rendered resistance hopeless. Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird, with their small British army, had been induced by the exaggerated intelligence which they received, to believe that Madrid would hold out and an effectual Spanish force be arrayed against that of France. Advancing under this supposition, Sir John discovered how terribly he had been deceived, when conscious that he was placed almost unprotected between two great armies, one commanded by Napoleon, the other by Ney. He executed a masterly retreat, in which he repeatedly Jan. 16, }  
1809. } baffled and beat his pursuers, and fell on the field of Corunna, where he gained a victory which enabled his troops to embark unmolested. Marshal Ney, whose own end was afterwards so tragical, generously raised a monument to the memory of this commander, who in his misfortunes showed capacities as great as those which have gained the most signal victories.

A.D. }  
1809. } 3. THE AUSTRIAN WAR.—Napoleon was recalled from the pursuit of Sir John Moore by alarming news as to the intentions of the Emperor of Austria. Silence and neutrality had been the policy of that power since its last disasters, but it was quietly strengthening itself for a renewal of the conflict, and considerable armies threatened the French in several parts of the Austrian dominions. Napoleon himself headed the forces on the Danube. It would be tedious to enumerate the various events of the war, but, among other advantages, the French emperor

gained a considerable victory at Eckmühl, which was somewhat neutralized by the less successful operations of his generals in Italy and other places. Through repeated conflicts, some of them very sanguinary, Napoleon pressed on to Vienna. The city was for some time bombarded; but its defence was found to be a useless waste of life, and on the 13th of May 1809, Napoleon again entered the Austrian capital. But this was not so much a conquest as a surprise, for the Archduke Charles, who had been deceived in his calculations, was now coming up with his army, and the battle for supremacy was still to be fought. Napoleon had to pass his army over to the north side of the Danube, by bridges which communicated with islands in the centre of that wide river. About 50,000 men had crossed over, when an accident to one of the bridges interrupted farther operations, and exposed this portion of the French army to the attack of a superior force. Napoleon had by an oversight inverted, as it were, his old tactics, and permitted a part of his army to encounter the concentrated troops of the enemy. They fought at Aspern, where, after an obstinate resistance, the French were beaten and driven  
May 21, 22, }  
1809. } back, losing one of their great generals, Lannes, who was killed by a cannon-shot. Napoleon retired to the island of Lobau, where, penned up, running short of ammunition, and separated from the rest of his army, he was in very imminent danger. So long, however, as he could keep up his communications, he had great resources at a distance, and he went on concentrating his forces on the island, and surrounding himself with strong field fortifications. His supremacy had been menaced in other parts of Germany, and he felt it of supreme importance that he should strike a decisive blow in the neighbourhood of Vienna. At the beginning of July, he had at his disposal the vast army of 150,000 foot and 30,000 horse, with 750 pieces of cannon, all collected on an island about two miles and a half long by one and three-quarters broad. He was never sparing either in the lives of his soldiers or in any other thing which could be sacrificed with a good chance of victory. Accordingly, he puzzled the Austrians by the erection of numerous bridges which he made to communicate with the islands; and in the end, managed



to deceive them so effectually, that he brought over his huge army at a quarter quite different from that at which they were prepared for it. He was now able to make up for his discomfiture at Aspern, by renewing his original system, and striking, with his whole concentrated force, right into the archduke's army, which was scattered and unprepared. The effect was not so successful as the old unexpected charges in the Italian campaigns—in fact the French were driven back, and the victory appeared to be with the Austrians. In the end, however, chiefly owing to the efforts of Davoust, the Austrians retreated; but though the battle of Wagram (July 6) was counted among the French victories, it was not one of a decided character. A cessation of arms was soon afterwards entered into, followed by the Peace of Vienna, signed on the 14th October 1809. It involved the cession of considerable Austrian territories to the new kingdoms which were vassals of Napoleon, and a contribution which would amount to three millions and a half of pounds in British money.

MARIA LOUISA.—A change soon afterwards took place in the domestic position of Napoleon, which was expected to have a great influence on his destiny, by allying him to the old European dynasties. Josephine, whom he had married when he was comparatively obscure, was still the object of his warm affection, and her kindly and conscientious advice was beneficial to him even at the periods of his highest triumphs. She was now advanced in years, not likely to bear children, and it was important that there should be an heir to the imperial throne. The courts of law would, of course, make no objection to any act deemed expedient by the emperor, however much it might outrage received opinions and the rules which ought to bind other men, and arrangements were made for separating him from his wife, and enabling him to marry during her life. Napoleon himself, notwithstanding his absorbing ambition, felt this to be a bitter parting, and it was still more bitter to the excellent Josephine, who, however, by an heroic effort, reconciled herself to a fate which seemed on public grounds to be necessary. There was a double reason for this step. Napoleon was but a general of division when he married the Creole widow. He was now the greatest monarch in

the world ; and while other sovereigns would be proud of an alliance with him, it was of importance for the stability of his throne, at least so he thought, that he should take a wife from the royal family of one of the most powerful. There were negotiations for a sister of the Russian emperor ; but, in consequence of some difficulties and delays, he was induced to look to Austria for an alliance. His overtures were readily acceded to, and on the 11th March 1810 he was married to the youthful Archduchess of Austria, Maria Louisa. Early in the spring of 1811 a son was born to him, who in conformity with the old system of the Emperors of Germany, received the title of the King of Rome. Napoleon himself now saw the crowning, as it were, of all his ambitious actions—formerly they were barren acquisitions, because they were to die with him, now there was an heir to carry them on from generation to generation. The French people were no less delighted than himself, and they showed their joy more openly and enthusiastically than his reserved Corsican nature could permit him to exhibit. He did indeed appear to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur, and it seemed a permanent position ; but the events which followed were to show that the highest mental efforts, and the best consolidated earthly power, are founded on uncertainties. From this time Napoleon's conduct made enemies everywhere. He acted as if he were responsible to no one, either in this world or in the next, so that he might do as he willed. He was not content with being the protector of the surrounding states, and having a title to dictate to their governments, but was ever finding excuses for embracing them within the bounds of France,—his own imperial dominions. He thus surrounded himself continually by new enemies, and though he pretended to despise them, they were in the end instrumental in his downfall. Many of his old followers thought they could observe a change in him altogether at the time when he parted from Josephine, and though his actual misfortunes did not then begin, that the seeds of them were then distinctly sown.

A.D. } 4. THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.—While he made second-  
1812. } ary enemies in Central Europe, and Britain was preparing to drive his troops out of Spain, he sought another

quarrel, in which he dashed himself against his adversary as if he were madly courting destruction. He had given offence to the Emperor Alexander of Russia by the abrupt manner in which he had broken off negotiations for the marriage of his sister. Alexander felt perhaps a still more important source of discontent in Napoleon's encroachments, which infringed on his dominions, and that in the most delicate portion of them—the states which his predecessor had stolen from the old kingdom of Poland. A more just cause of jealousy was one which is not actually mentioned in that age of armies and of battles, as it concerned only commerce and the well-being of the people. The Russian peasantry produced in great abundance tar, hemp, and tallow, articles of much importance to the English manufactures and shipping; and there were such strong temptations for the Russian landowners to continue their exportation, that the emperor could not support Napoleon's continental system. After long hesitation, it was determined to invade Russia,—a scheme which the oldest and most experienced statesmen and soldiers opposed, and which posterity has pronounced the act of a man whose head was turned by success. Napoleon left Paris on the 9th of May 1812, and on his way to join his army held a court at Dresden. It was such a court as never had been seen, for sovereign princes hung in attendance at it, and servilely accepted his haughty courtesies. Indeed he made it his pride to elevate his marshals, who were entirely of his own making, above them; and these proud soldiers showed their contempt for the cringing princes. It was reported of the levee at Dresden, that one would say to the other: "Take care, don't tread on the toes of that king."

The army now commanded by Napoleon was no longer merely French, but European—it was taken from almost every nation—Britain and Russia excepted. There were men from Austria, Prussia, and the other German states; Holland, Belgium, Italy, and Spain, and a few Mamelukes from Egypt. The different forces added together were calculated as an army of more than 600,000 men. At one time, 480,000 were assembled on the banks of the Niemen, prepared to cross over. It was like a moving city rather than an army. The vast numbers, which should have occasioned

distrust and danger, diffused a kind of confidence. How could there be risk in the midst of half a million of armed men? Hence women and children were attached to the host. There were 1372 pieces of cannon, and to drag these, as well as the thousands of provision waggons, there were multitudes of horses and oxen. The very organization of the troops of oxen and the provision department, rendered necessary an army of civilians—commissaries, overseers, clerks, and the like. The means of attending to the tents and baggage—to the dress—to the arms—to all the wants of so immense a host, required an organization nearly as full as all the industrial arrangements of a large city. There the supply of service rises gradually with the demand: here it had to be at once concentrated, and it was not wonderful that it should fail. The passage of the Niemen, on the 24th of June, by three bridges, is described as a striking and solemn scene. A Russian enemy was expected on the other side, but none appeared. The first detachment which passed over found a solitary cossack, who, as if in idle curiosity, asked them who they were, and what they wanted, and then galloped off into the woods. Even while the army passed through the territory of Lithuania, which it was to liberate, the impossibility of human genius organizing such a host was felt. Despite of the most despotic orders to the commissaries to provide twenty days' provision, the horrors of starvation soon afflicted the army. The drivers of the bullocks could find no food for them, and killed or abandoned the animals committed to their care, while the waggons of grain were sometimes a day or two's march from the division which required food. In the calculations for victualling the army, a false reliance had been placed on the resources of the country they passed through, but it was stripped of its produce. Maddened with hunger and hardship, the savage soldiery of the different nations attacked and plundered friend and foe alike, wherever they were to be found on the route; and thus those in advance rendered the country still more bare and desolate for those who had to follow. Napoleon desired a great battle, that he might at once strike terror to the heart of Russia; but it was not the policy of his enemy to risk this chance, and ever as he penetrated farther, the Russian army appeared

to glide away before him like a phantom. Arriving at Wit-epsk, on the Dwina, Napoleon appeared to be conscious of the unmanageableness of the host he had brought together, and almost afraid of the mighty engine he had made. He there spent two weeks in apparent dreamy indecision. Here the Russians first faced him, commanded by a general of British origin—an Aberdeenshire laird, whose Scottish title of Barclay of Towie, appears in the continental works as Barclay de Tolly. His troops fought doggedly, but it was not yet their intention to try a great battle. They defended Smolensko long enough to cover an orderly retreat, and left it in flames. Thus the invaders found the ashes of a town instead of food and shelter; but despite of the most powerful opposition by his best trusted advisers, Napoleon determined to march onwards to Moscow. At length, when the invading army was so dwindled and scattered that he had but 140,000 men under his immediate command, the Russian army, of equal or greater strength, under Barclay and Bagration, took up its position near Borodino. A battle was fought on the 7th September, which was stubbornly contested by the Russians; and though Napoleon was successful, it was not one of his effective triumphs, for his enemy made an orderly retreat, and fell back upon their national resources. But now the one passing gleam of lustre shone across this ill-fated expedition. The way to Moscow was open, and the old capital of the czars, uniting together the wonders of Europe and Asia, was destined to receive the conqueror of the world. As the advanced guard came to the top of the last rising ground, called the Hill of Salvation, because there the Russians, when they first descry the city, kneel and cross themselves, the oriental domes of Moscow, all glittering in the sun, presented themselves to their astonished eyes. But as the army approached nearer, a strange mysterious misgiving began to take the place of their joy. Instead of meeting with a determined resistance, a solemn silence reigned everywhere. Some officers crept cautiously within the city, and brought to Napoleon news which he would not at first believe, that Moscow was deserted by its inhabitants, who had carried off all the property they could remove. There was thus a very questionable prospect of provision for the army, but there were

quarters for them in abundance ; and to make it appear as if they were the careless conquerors of the capital, now enjoying themselves, balls, theatres, and other amusements were established. But they soon made a horrible discovery—the town had been set on fire in several places, and being built of wood, the flames spread fiercely. While the means of shelter thus crumbled into ashes, their Russian prisoners asked what provision they had made for the winter. Had they furs and warm clothing in abundance ? If they had not, at the beginning of November their toes and fingers would drop off—in a few days after they would be frozen to death. Napoleon vainly waited for offers of terms of accommodation from the emperor ; but none came, for Alexander knew too well that the invading force was doomed. On the 19th October the retreat began. It would be useless in a small space to endeavour to paint the horrors of that flight ; whole books have been written even on the adventures of single regiments. Those who read them wonder that a single man of that army ever escaped from Russia. Multitudes of Cossacks, using long spears and mounted on fleet horses, harassed the fugitives perpetually, and at one time had so completely surprised the very centre of the army, that had they known Napoleon by sight, they might have carried him off captive. The French troops expected shelter and provisions at Smolensko, but they forgot how many straggling parties there were severed from the main host, and they found the magazines empty. On the 6th of November the winter set in : it was late, but unusually severe, and the snowy wilderness, stretching like a vast winding-sheet on every side, produced a dreadful depression on the minds of the soldiers. They left their arms, their plunder, their trophies buried deep in the snow, anxious solely, but too often in vain, to save their lives. At the crossing of the Berezina, the horrors they incurred both from the enemy and the elements were at a climax which is thus described by Count Segur, who was present. “ They had been already crowding thickly one upon the other, and the immense multitude heaped upon the bank pell-mell with the horses and carriages, formed a most alarming encumbrance. It was about the middle of the day when the first Russian bullets fell in the midst of this chaos ; they were

the signal of universal despair. Then it was that, as in all cases of extremity, dispositions exhibited themselves without disguise, and actions were witnessed most base, and others most sublime. According to their different characters, some furious and determined, with sword in hand, cleared for themselves a horrible passage. Others still more cruel, opened a road for their carriages by driving them without mercy over the crowd of unfortunate persons who stood in the way. Their notable avarice made them sacrifice their companions in misfortune to the preservation of their baggage. Others, seized with a disgusting terror, wept, supplicated, and sank under the influence of that passion which completed the exhaustion of their strength. Some were observed (and these were principally the sick and wounded), who renouncing life, went aside and sat down resigned, looking with a fixed eye on the snow which was shortly to be their tomb. Numbers of those who darted first among this crowd of desperadoes, missed the bridge and attempted to scale it by the sides, but the greater part were pushed into the river. There were seen women in the middle of the ice, with their children in their arms, raising them as they felt themselves sinking, and even when completely immersed, their stiffened arms still held them above them.

“In the midst of this horrible disorder, the artillery bridge burst and broke down. The column, entangled in this narrow passage, in vain attempted to retrograde. The crowds of men who came behind, unaware of the calamity, and not hearing the cries of those before them, pushed them on and threw them into the gulf, into which they were precipitated in their turn. Every one then attempted to pass by the other bridge. A number of large ammunition-waggon, heavy carriages, and cannon, crowded to it from all parts. Directed by their drivers, and carried along over a rough and unequal declivity, in the midst of heaps of men, they ground to powder the poor wretches who were unlucky enough to get between them: after which, the greater part, driving violently against each other and getting overturned, killed in their fall those who surrounded them. Whole rows of these desperate creatures being pushed against these obstacles got entangled among

them, were thrown down and crushed to pieces by masses of other unfortunates, who succeeded each other uninterruptedly." Besides the thousands who were left dead in the snow, when the ice melted in the ensuing spring 12,000 bodies were found in the bed of the river.

Fifty thousand men still marched onwards, and some of the corps were kept in a compact state by the untiring exertions of the officers. Acts of almost superhuman exertion and endurance were thus performed; but greatest above all the heroes of that awful trial was Ney, who had the task of commanding the rearguard, and keeping off the Cossacks. To him all who escaped owed their safety, and his labours were such as nothing but prodigious strength both of body and mind could have enabled him to bear, for he seldom slept for a single hour by day or night. A staff of officers, called the Sacred Squadron, kept round Napoleon. At first all had horses; but the poor animals died one by one, and at last the great emperor himself had to walk through the snow. What his thoughts were as he thus trudged on amidst the horror and havoc which his ambition occasioned, it would scarcely be pleasing to know.

5th Dec. } When he arrived at Smorgoni, he procured a sledge  
1812. } and set out for Paris. With his departure all semblance of order and discipline disappeared. At Wilna, where they expected food and shelter, the fugitives were fiercely attacked by a host of Cossacks, which poured upon them like a cloud of sand. A multitude of prisoners were made, and nearly the last vestige of the baggage was carried off. At last, of the half million who had crossed the Niemen northwards, 20,000 passed it in return, and of these not a sixth part had belonged to that main army which penetrated to Moscow. Napoleon reached Paris so care and travel worn, that he had difficulty in making the guards believe who he was, and getting access to his palace. Notwithstanding his despotic vigilance, sinister rumours had spread through France where so many had the objects of their warmest affections committed to his keeping. It was high time that he returned, for an extraordinary conspiracy against his authority showed the insecurity of his position. On the 23d October, General Mallet fabricated a bulletin, announcing from Moscow the death of the emperor. By



similar forged documents he gained over some of the authorities, others less credulous he committed to prison, and at the very moment when success appeared certain, the deception was discovered. The news which Napoleon had to receive from the distant seats of war, and especially from Spain, were far from satisfactory, as a retrospect of the operations carried on there while he was in Russia will show.

5. THE PENINSULAR WAR.—The efforts made by the British in the Peninsula went at first no farther than sending a few thousand men to assist the natives in their contest. It was found, however, that though enthusiastic and warlike, the Spaniards were poor allies in regular warfare, being inaccurate in their information, and ever ready to make boastful promises which they could not fulfil. In the spring of 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley had arrived a second time in Portugal, whence he drove out the French, and passed into Spain. He found, like the British commanders who had preceded him, that through false information he was brought into contact with armies capable of entirely annihilating his small force. But he made the discovery in time, and commenced a retreat, or rather a retrograde march, to the neighbourhood of Lisbon. While the French expected to drive him into the sea, they saw him to their extreme astonishment take up his position within a line of October }  
1810. } powerful fortifications which he had erected along the heights of Torres Vedras overlooking the sea. He had prudently occupied himself for some time in their preparation, and they were found quite impregnable. Thus, while the French were subject to all the privations to which an army is liable in the midst of a hostile people, and with no line of communication with a friendly country, the British army obtained abundance of provisions from the fleet. After finding that all his attacks were vain, and his troops likely to be destroyed by famine, Massena evacuated Portugal. The efforts which Napoleon had made, however, to subdue Spain were on his usual gigantic and overwhelming scale. Every fortified place that had been lost was retaken; Joseph was replaced on his throne at Madrid; and in the year 1811 the military occupation of the country by 370,000 troops was complete. But Napoleon by his in-

sulting supremacy daily aggravated the bitterness of the national feeling. He had promised not to dismember the country, but to leave it entire as a nation, and yet he was beginning to attach it bit by bit in departments to France in a manner which called forth the anger even of his brother. His army being reinforced from home, and the Portuguese soldiers having been well trained, Wellington watched the time for coming to close contact with the French in Spain, and decided to cross the frontier in the beginning of the year 1812. He began by an attack on the strong fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, which were both taken by storm. Just after Napoleon had begun to penetrate into Russia, the British and their

22d July } allies gained the important battle of Salamanca.  
1812. } They approached Madrid, whence early in August Joseph and his whole court took flight, and soon after it was entered by the British army. Insufficiently supported, however, the force was still on too small a scale to cope with the great resources of the French, and Wellington found it necessary to retreat under the protection of his stronghold, Ciudad Rodrigo. During the winter, while Napoleon's miserable host was perishing in the Russian snows, Wellington was carefully disciplining and recruiting his army in winter-quarters, and large reinforcements were sent from England to effectively recommence the campaign. In the beginning of May, counting British, Spanish, and Portuguese, he had nearly 200,000 troops under his command, about the largest body that has ever been at the disposal of a British general. Joseph now again retreated from Madrid; and as his departure on this occasion had every appearance of being final, he removed the records and archives of the kingdom, with a quantity of treasure. While encumbered with the vast train of waggons and

21st June } carriages so loaded, he was attacked and routed  
1813. } by Wellington in the celebrated battle of Vittoria, and the spoil taken on the occasion was of the most profuse and costly kind; while the French army and its followers, driven into confusion by these encumbrances, was dispersed and broken. The enormous quantity of money and valuables which the soldiers got possession of, had at the same time a very dangerous and disorganizing influence

on the British army; but there was no Napoleon or Davoust, with a fresh, well-supplied, and well-disciplined force to fall upon them, for the greatness of the French military system had passed its climax, and was now fast waning. The battle of Vittoria extinguished it in Spain; and the British army, driving the scattered remains of the French before them, approached the Pyrenees. At the frontier there were several sharp conflicts with Soult, who had been sent by Napoleon in the emergency to protect the "sacred soil of France." Wellington, however, passed the rapid river Bidassoa on the 7th October 1813; and thus the British force were the first hostile soldiers who had entered France since the attempts of the German powers to crush the Republic at its commencement—those very attempts which had induced the French to embody their large armies and gain their great victories.

The attachment of the French to Napoleon was never more wonderfully exhibited than in their reception of him on his disastrous return from Russia. He had led his devoted followers there against the strenuous advice of all the experienced generals and statesmen of the country. It was entirely to serve his own inordinate ambition, not to serve France, that he had thus acted. The result had been transcendently disastrous, for hundreds of thousands of the people of France had to mourn fathers, brothers, or sons, lying in the snows of Russia. Yet none murmured—it was enough that Napoleon willed it—that their sacrifices were in his service and for his glory. He showed how many men the country could still afford, requiring 350,000 to add to the wrecks of his several armies,—the demand was responded to with alacrity, and the number was even exceeded. It appeared on paper that France had yet a million of soldiers capable of being taken from her own territory and her dependencies; but the Russian campaign and the Spanish and German wars had thinned the numbers of the hardy veterans who remembered their leader in his first Italian campaign; and the large round number, which sounded so imposingly, had to be kept up with young lads unfit to bear the hardships of actual war. Napoleon, ever fertile in expedients for strengthening his position, turned from the army to the church. He remembered that

it had been the policy of the old emperors of Germany to be the protectors of the popes, and thus, while the one appeared to be the spiritual, the other seemed to be the temporal head of Europe. He believed that the removal of the seat of the papacy from Rome to Paris would strengthen his influence, the head of the spiritual world being thus under the protection of its temporal potentate. It would make it appear that his bishop or chaplain was the head of the catholic church. Pius VII., who had been for some time a prisoner in France, stunned and confounded by the whirl of strange events in which he found himself, listened to the bold proposals made to him, and an arrangement was established called the Concordat. The court of Rome found reasons for objecting to adhere to it; but other circumstances took place which prevented the matter from receiving attention.

6. REGENERATION OF GERMANY.—The Prussian government continued to pay the price of its imbecility and meanness by remaining at the mercy of Napoleon; but the German people were maddened by the insolence and rapacity to which they were subjected by the French officers, in spite of the good general rules which he had laid down. A popular enthusiasm for liberty and nationality was beginning to animate all ranks, and especially the students at the universities. They united themselves together by a secret association called the Tugend Bund, or Union of Virtue. They had long remained in quiet preparation; but the news of the Russian retreat showed them that the hour of liberation had come: they rose in masses, and drove the French from several of the towns; while they hailed the approach of the Russian troops as that of allies. The rich gave up their ornaments of gold and silver for the national defence. These probably would not go far to fit out an army, but they were a token of goodwill, and a curious national manufacture arose from this incident. The persons who parted with these valuables received iron ornaments in their stead, and thus Berlin became celebrated for the delicacy of its works in iron. Though the people had thus come forward, the king still hung back, wavering and endeavouring to consult his own personal interest. At length, however, the government was

driven to take a side with the nation, and the treaty of Kalisch was formed with Russia. So soon as the mere task of enrolling them could be got through, there was a large Prussian army arrayed against Napoleon. His own resources were still enormous, and he could bring larger armies into the field than his combined enemies; but a few only of his men were the hardy veterans of old. The war <sup>May 2, 20, 1813.</sup> } commenced on the Elbe, and was remarkable for two great battles fought at Lutzen and Bautzen, where the Russians and Prussians were united. Napoleon was victorious in both; but the days of his old ascendancy, when he swept all before him, were evidently departing. His own successful battles had tended to raise up generals and troops fit to cope with him; and there were two, Barclay de Tolly, and Blucher the Prussian, who were very different from General Mack, and could retreat when the enemy had the advantage without being totally routed. Thus these victories produced no result. It seemed, indeed, as if the fortunes of the great conqueror were wavering before they turned against him. An armistice was signed at the commencement of June; and it was visible to all Europe that the war, when it should recommence, would be a mortal struggle for the continuance or the abolition of Napoleon's supremacy. The Emperor of Austria brought together a large force and looked on. He still stood in awe of the Corsican's power, and he did not desire without good cause to pull down a monarch so nearly allied to himself. The position which he might take would therefore go far in deciding the fate of Europe. Britain was in the meantime lavish in advancing money and furnishing the Prussians with arms. Austria was negotiating for a cession of some of Napoleon's conquests; and he was preparing to listen to such proposals, when the news of the battle of Vittoria made Prince Metternich take up the view that the time had come for humbling the oppressor of Europe. On the 27th of July 1813, Austria joined the European alliance against him. Two of his own old comrades were now in arms against Napoleon. The one was Bernadotte, who from a common soldier had risen to be king of Sweden; and who, following the interests of his people, took the side against his former commander. The other was Moreau, the

victor of Hohenlinden, who, after living long in retirement in America, had been induced by the Emperor Alexander to give him the benefit of his military skill. It was an unfortunate movement for him, since it exposed him to the reproach of fighting against his native land, not from any duty he owed to others, but from personal ambition or discontent. Nor did it at all tend to justify him in the eyes of his countrymen, that he had suffered for nearly ten years under hard and even spiteful usage from Napoleon. The armistice was soon infringed on both sides, and the impetuous vigour of the Germans in the renewal of hostilities showed them to be very different from the men of the old school. Blucher, a fierce, obstinate combatant, rather than a general capable of great scientific operations, now showed his formidable character in never being overcome, though he might be foiled or even vanquished. It was one of his qualities which gave Napoleon deep mortification, that he was no sooner driven back than he reappeared as formidable as ever. By the rapid assemblage of the allied forces around Dresden, the French were nearly surprised and beaten in their head-quarters in Germany; and it was said to be entirely owing to the dilatoriness still lingering among the German commanders that this was not accomplished. They had begun the bombardment of the city, which was protected by some recently erected works, and seemed sure of success, which they would certainly have achieved, had not Schwartzemberg lost the decisive moment by waiting for reinforcements. But Napoleon, by one of his wonderful marches of 120 miles in three days, poured a large force into the city, which was so closely beset that he had at one part of the road to crawl on his hands and knees to be below the range of the cannon. The allies were driven off with heavy loss; and the successful results of the battle in prisoners and guns, and other trophies taken, were so decisive, that it seemed as if the old days of Napoleon's glory had returned. The fight was fatal at the same time to his ancient rival, who was giving the benefit of his great military powers to his enemies, and Moreau died after having had both his legs shot off. In the days when Napoleon was believed to be like other eminent commanders who could be satiated with con-

quest, such a victory would have led to negotiation and compromise. But the allies felt that they must either put him down or be put down themselves, and they therefore continued the death-struggle. Even in its retreat the allied army met with an instance of good fortune, which, perhaps more than any other separate event, tended to the downfall of Napoleon. His lieutenant, Vandamme, posted near Peterswalde, was directed to intercept the retreating army. In order to do so he endeavoured to gain Töplitz, where the roads by which they would proceed meet at a point. He was interrupted in his attempt by Ostermann; and while the conflict remained undecided, he found himself overwhelmed by the vast masses of the receding army. A curious incident took place on this occasion. A body of the Prussians coming suddenly on this small French force, instead of perceiving that it was in great danger of destruction, took alarm at its presence, and thought of nothing but cutting a way through it and escaping. The French had better ground for desiring the same thing; and thus each, instead of carrying on a conflict for superiority in the usual manner, tried merely to force a passage through the other. The scene was one of great confusion and slaughter on both sides, until a body of Russians coming up decided the victory for the allies, and the French thus suffered a loss at Culm which seemed fully to balance their success at Dresden (Aug. 29). The disaster was owing to Napoleon's negligence in not strengthening Vandamme; and the omission was attributed to one of those fits of illness which were now observed from time to time to obscure the genius and activity of Napoleon. In Silesia, Macdonald suffered a severe reverse from the Prussians under Blücher, with the aid of the Russians. It was called the battle of Katzbach, and first showed the French the stubbornness and capacity of their new enemy. An attempt by Oudinot to press onward to Berlin with 80,000 men was baffled by Bernadotte and Bülow, who fought and gained the battle of Gross Beeren. Though Oudinot was immediately replaced by the courageous Ney, the army had little better success, being defeated at Dennewitz, near Torgau, on the 6th of September. Here was a succession of humiliating defeats within a few days. They fell on Napoleon's lieutenants only it is true,

and his own high military renown was scarcely yet affected. But on the scale of conquest and warfare with which he had surrounded himself, he must trust to others, and could not always be present in the various battles which were fought. Thus it became clear that the Germans and Russians had generals who were a full match for his proudest marshals, if not sometimes their superiors. Scarcely knowing which way to turn, he at last decided to aid Macdonald against Blücher; but this commander, who was wise as well as stubborn, knew that it would be well to accustom his men to victories over inferior leaders before they encountered Napoleon with the tried warriors of the old guard by whom he was surrounded, and so he made a safe retreat. It had been Napoleon's determination to keep his enemies beyond the line of the Elbe. But the repeated disasters already mentioned, with a number of smaller operations which, whether successful or not, thinned the French ranks, had so greatly reduced Napoleon's available force, that at the end of six weeks from the recommencement of hostilities it had fallen from about 360,000 to no more than 200,000. These were under all discouraging circumstances, for they were in a hostile country, while their enemies were in a friendly one; and besides the willingness of the people to supply them with provisions, they had abundance of money from Britain at their disposal. In fact, the British government had become guarantee for five millions worth of German notes, which were thus taken as readily as gold. In these circumstances the line of the Elbe could be maintained no longer, and early in October it was crossed by Bernadotte and Blücher. Napoleon, who still remained at Dresden, renewed the old difference with his followers. He was for pressing northwards and attacking Berlin, while they, looking at the falling off of the force, and the increasing power of the allies, wished to be near France to protect the frontier. Napoleon had already commenced the northward movement when circumstances compelled him to yield to the more prudent plan of his generals. Bavaria, which had hitherto stood by the side of the new made emperor, joined the German coalition, and was likely to be speedily followed in this course by the petty princes who still professed a tie to France. Napoleon at last consented to



abandon the line of the Elbe, and proceeded to Leipsic, where Murat would join him, and their forces would be concentrated. Here the illustrious brothers-in-law, with Marmont and Ney, were to meet the Emperor Alexander and Schwartzemberg, supported by Bernadotte, Colloredo, and Blucher. It was in fact to be the great struggle on the issue of which the fate of Europe depended.

7. **BATTLE OF LEIPSIC.**—We are naturally apt in this country to speak of the battle of Waterloo as one of the most extensive engagements on record. There have certainly been few, if any, more important in its results, but at Leipsic the forces brought together amounted to nearly three times the number who were present on that occasion. Under Napoleon and his commanders there were several armies, numbering together 140,000 infantry and 35,000 cavalry, with 720 pieces of cannon. On the side of the allies, a large portion of whom had been roused to the notion that they were embarked in a sacred war in which they must either be victorious or perish, the number was far greater, amounting in all to 280,000 men, and about 1300 guns. To add to the awful nature of a contest between such enormous masses of men, it was sustained in the close neighbourhood of a large town, whose inhabitants could hardly hope to escape being involved in its worst horrors. It cannot be supposed that these immense bodies could be brought directly against each other like two small armies. The battle of Leipsic in fact, which lasted for several days, was a series of conflicts in which several armies were engaged. On the 16th of October, Napoleon himself had a contest with the Austrians, in which they acted prematurely and were driven back. Eagerly snatching at the idea of a victory, he ordered the bells of Leipsic to be rung in celebration of his triumph. It was a more culpable folly that he failed to take the means for a safe retreat across the Elster. While he was occupied with the Austrians, Blucher came up, and did great execution on another portion of the French army. The next day passed in suspense, and on the 18th the battle was renewed on a larger scale, and in a shape more hopeless for the French. Bernadotte, who had a natural unwillingness to fight against his old commander, hung back at first, but was now compelled to bring up his troops.

Soon afterwards, a few thousand Germans from Saxony and Wurtemberg deserted to their countrymen. No heroism or generalship could stand against this combined force, and Napoleon was driven back upon Leipsic, where the fortifications might be expected to afford him some protection. The horrors for which the citizens were now prepared are not to be imagined—with 150,000 men within their walls, defending themselves against an army nearly twice as numerous outside. The attack on the city began next morning, and a part of Napoleon's army met it with spirit; but this was only a sham resistance. He found that his ammunition had run short, and that he must make up his mind to retreat. He now felt how miserably foolish had been his reliance on his good fortune. Of two bridges over the Elster one broke down; and the fugitives crowded so furiously and confusedly in the direction of the other, that the deified emperor himself could not safely clear a path through the throng, and left the town by a private road pointed out to him by a citizen. The horrors of the Beresina were almost repeated; and, to add to the other calamities of the day, the officer whose duty it was to blow up the bridge, for the purpose of interrupting the pursuit, did so too soon, while a considerable portion of the French force was on the north side of the river. The long and dreadful European war seemed thus again brought to a climax. It is calculated that 80,000 men lay dead around Leipsic—most of them, of course, French. The town, containing not quite 50,000 inhabitants, could ill supply comforts or accommodation for the wounded, whose sufferings were increased by the early commencement of winter. The two monarchs principally interested in this victory—the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia—accompanied by their great ally, the Emperor of Russia, made a solemn and magnificent entry to Leipsic. It was the day of the complete triumph of Germany over her oppressor, and it had been accomplished by a well-supported union of the several scattered states which were peopled by Germans. The feeling indeed had for the first time taken root that those who spoke the German language, whatever kind of government they were under, were each other's friends, and those who attacked or oppressed any of them were the

enemies of all. The several portions of their huge army, well considering that a terrible blow had been struck at the common enemy, now dispersed in various quarters to effect the reduction of the French forces scattered through Germany. In fact, in almost every one of the strong fortresses on the German rivers and frontier towns the French had garrisons. They amounted probably to a larger number of fighting men than those which Napoleon headed in his retreating army; but they could not co-operate with each other, while at the same time they were not easily subdued. This state of matters greatly increased the difficulty and expense both in blood and treasure of the war on each side. When the main body was driven back into France, the garrisons of the fortresses were quite helpless, save merely to offer a protracted resistance. But they had strong inducements to do so; because if Napoleon should by any possibility recover his superiority and bring a victorious army towards them, they would themselves be relieved, and they would greatly strengthen his operations. There was no chance, however, of their being so aided. The retreat of the main army was disastrous. Napoleon was harassed by the merciless and persevering Blücher; and when he reached Erfurth, where he had fortifications and magazines, and could take time to organize his army, it had dwindled to not much more than half the number who fought at Leipsic. Still wherever Napoleon himself contended with any thing like equal numbers he was victorious. His new enemies, the Bavarians, attacked him under Wrede, at Hanau, near Frankfort, as he was marching to the Rhine. The Bavarians, who were reinforced by other German troops, were signally beaten; and it seemed as if Napoleon, even when bidding adieu to the soil over which he had so absolutely ruled, could show its children that none of them were his equals in the art of war. It has been supposed that disease and disappointment were both growing on him, and that he thus at this time did not really possess the acuteness and power of calculation which had enabled him to gain his Italian battles eighteen years earlier. But there was much in experience and habit; and he had the reputation of being invincible, which frightened his enemies, and made his followers fight like

men who must conquer. Still retreating, Mayence with its strong fortifications was reached, and the French passed within the boundary of the Rhine. That great river, which is the natural boundary and protection of Germany from French aggression, was soon afterwards approached by the army of liberation, and the first glimpse they caught of it produced a joy too intense for utterance. It has ever since that time been the aim of the German patriots to teach the people to look upon it as their great national river, whose banks must be kept sacred from hostile approach. Holland, catching the enthusiasm, determined no longer to submit to the rule of France, or rather of the family of Napoleon. A revolution was there accomplished with much unanimity and quietness by the people, not by armies. They rose in the several provinces, and by the irresistible influence of numbers removed the French authorities, and received back the Prince of Orange,—the whole proceeding forming a happy contrast with the sanguinary contest going on in Germany.

The consequences of leaving so many men dispersed in the German garrisons now told severely on Napoleon's position. His enemies, compelled to act with concentrated power, invested and took them one after the other. Thus the greater portion of the French troops were made prisoners, and languished in German dungeons, instead of assembling for the defence of their country. Nor were the allies in the German and Italian borders of France the only enemies against whom Napoleon had with his sorely diminished forces to contend. The British, as it has been already stated, were the first hostile power to enter the territory of France. They had not, like the Germans or even their allies the Spaniards, suffered great wrongs and oppressions which they were stimulated to avenge on the French nation; they came as mere soldiers to fight with other soldiers, and provided with abundance of money to pay the people of the country for their provisions. There was one drawback in their invasion, that Wellington had under his command a large host of Spaniards, who could not be kept from plundering and abusing the peasantry. It was necessary, though at a great sacrifice, to send a portion of them back to Spain. The resources which Napoleon had at his command for the

protection of the southern frontier, drained as France was by the German wars, were truly wonderful. Soult was there at the head of 70,000 men,—such an army as England has only been able on rare occasions to bring into the field; an army, indeed, more than doubling in amount all the British present at the battle of Waterloo. The principal point of defence was the fortified town of Bayonne; but while Wellington was occupied in reducing the last fortresses which held out in Spain, Soult had been employed in raising three strong lines of defence, extending from the fortified village of St Jean de Luz, on the Bay of Biscay inland, so as to face the British line of march. On the 9th November, a general attack was made on the centre of these lines of defence; and after some hard fighting they were all three driven in, and the army crossed the river Nivelle. It was now necessary to widen the base of operations for Wellington's considerable army. The river Nive had to be crossed; and while a portion only of the troops had reached the other side and the British army was divided in two, Soult, adopting his master's old tactics, made a vigorous attack on the diminished force. He was received with the firmness which has always characterized the British in the day of battle; and though suffering severely, they held their ground until sufficiently reinforced to repulse their assailants. Several fierce contests took place ere the French, disheartened, were driven within their fortified camp at Bayonne. Such was the state of matters at the close of the year 1813 on the Pyrenean frontier of France; and Wellington having got a firm footing in the country, put his troops into comfortable winter-quarters, where the avenues for supplies over a well victualled region were open, and the large funds advanced for carrying on the war enabled his commissaries to procure abundant provisions.

#### EXERCISES.

1. By what means did Napoleon propose to accomplish the destruction of Britain? What might his proposal be compared to? What decrees did he issue? How did Britain retaliate? What were the effects of the system? How was it counteracted? Describe the nature of Napoleon's government of France.

2. What enlarged projects of ambition did he entertain? How did he treat Portugal? What was the state of the Spanish royal family? How did Napoleon lay his plots in connexion with this? How did he

get his end accomplished? What account does Thiers give of his conduct? How did the Spanish people act? What policy did Britain adopt? What steps were taken? What convention produced discontent? Give an account of the conduct and fate of Sir John Moore.

3. What was taking place in Austria? How did the Austrian war begin? What city was taken? What took place at Aspern? Describe the other operations on the Danube. What was the nature of the battle of Wagram? What peace was it followed by? What was the fate of Josephine? How did Napoleon connect himself with the old European monarchies? What was his son called? What appeared to be the effect of his great prosperity on his character and conduct?

4. What were the causes of quarrel with the Emperor Alexander? What determination did Napoleon adopt? What sort of court did he hold at Dresden? What was the character of the army collected for the invasion of Russia? What has been stated as to its amount? What was necessary for its organization? When and how was the Niemen passed? How were the arrangements found to be ineffective? Give an account of the march to Moscow. What was the effect of approaching and entering the city? What discovery was made as to its state? What alarming circumstances arose, and how did Napoleon treat them? Describe the retreat from Moscow. What had occurred in Paris in Napoleon's absence?

5. What was the state of matters in Spain? Who was sent over from Britain? Give an account of the retreat on Torres Vedras, and the position there. What force had Napoleon in Spain? What fortresses were stormed? What aspect did the war take after the winter? What was the effect of the battle of Vittoria? What was the first hostile force which entered France? What efforts did Napoleon and the French make to restore the army? Give an account of Napoleon's transaction with the pope.

6. What sort of enthusiasm began to appear in Germany? How was it treated by the Prussian government and by the French? What is the history of the Berlin iron-trinkets? What course was the government obliged to adopt? What battles were fought? What was now becoming Napoleon's position in Europe? What great generals had risen up? What step did Austria take? How did Moreau and Bernadotte act? Give an account of Blücher. What took place at Dresden? What occurred at Töplitz and Culm? What disasters overtook Napoleon's officers? Describe the position in which he was placed when he fell back from the line of the Elbe.

7. On what scale was the battle of Leipzig fought? Give an account of the battle. What effect had it on Germany? What operations did the German armies adopt? In what way were the French forces scattered? Give a general account of the operations connected with the retreat to Mayence. What river was the object of German enthusiasm? How did the Dutch act? In what other direction was France entered? How was Soult placed in regard to Wellington? Describe the progress of the British force in penetrating the French frontier.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM THE INVASION OF FRANCE TO THE CONCLUSION  
OF THE EUROPEAN WAR, A. D. 1813—1815.

The German and Prussian Armies—Defence of the French Territory—  
Occupation of Paris—Abdication of Napoleon—The Restoration—  
Elba—Reign of the Hundred Days—Congress of Vienna—Battle of  
Waterloo.

1. JUST as the eventful year 1813 was closing, the Germans and their allies crossed the Rhine. In fact, the first detachment passed over in the middle of the night of the 31st December, and the morning of the new year beheld them posted on French ground. Schwartzemberg penetrated by Basle through Switzerland, and spread his huge force of 200,000 men over the slopes of the great mountain-district between the Rhine and the Rhone. Blucher, with his Silesian army of 130,000 men, crossed the river farther down between Strasburg and Mayence; while Bernadotte led a body of about 180,000 men towards Paris by the way of the Low Countries. Nor were the aggrieved nations the only enemies who now appeared against the falling conqueror. His brother-in-law, Murat, discontented with his rule over the small kingdom of Naples, or at least not liking to take his chance of so small a prize in the dangerous lottery, demanded the whole of Italy south of the Po as the bribe for which he would take his chance with Napoleon. His offer was not accepted, and somewhat to the surprise of the allies, they obtained his accession to the league against his brother-in-law, by securing to him the kingdom of Naples.

Thus with upwards of a million of troops menacing him by all the frontiers of France, and gradually converging towards Paris as a centre, Napoleon might be compared to a wild beast whom the hunters have driven to his den, which they are fast approaching to surround. The com-

parison suits in more ways than one. Powerful as the allied forces were numerically, they were weakened by separation and want of unanimity. If the wild beast were weak in comparison with all of them put together, yet he could look round on them from his central position, and pouncing on one at a time, involve him in destruction. Yet close at hand he had difficulties; for a voice was heard even from the long quiescent deputies complaining of the continued drain on the population and pecuniary resources of the country to feed his ambition. Such attempts were at once summarily put down. The supporters of the Bourbons were organized and ready to take advantage of events, but they too were kept quiet; and Napoleon, by his sovereign authority, levied a heavy tax, and demanded six hundred thousand recruits. But he required what did not exist, and what neither his power nor the devotion of his followers could create. He made the strongest appeals to the patriotism and pride of the French people:—Wellington within their sacred soil—the Germans and the Russians about to enter it! But the bones of those who should have defended it were covered by the snows of Russia, or scattered on the countless battlefields of Germany, Italy, and Spain. Yet still he was able to put himself at the head of 100,000 effective men, and with this force he worked wonders. He re-organized the national guard for the defence of Paris. The empress he left as joint regent along with his brother Joseph; and taking a farewell with much feeling of his wife and child, whom he never met again, he set forth on his great adventure—to face the largest military force which the world had ever seen assembled. While the war went on, a congress of the representatives of the several powers was held at Chatillon, to offer or agree to such terms of peace as the state of circumstances might show to be expedient. The offers at first made to Napoleon were—that France should be restricted to her natural limits between the Alps and Pyrenees on the one side and the Rhine on the other; that the old dynasty should be restored to Spain, and the independence of Germany and Italy secured—but this basis was haughtily rejected.

Again it is necessary to resume the tedious detail of warlike operations, which for so many years had formed



the sole element of French history. The people of the country were a mere brood of human beings from whom the ambitious conqueror supplied his army with soldiers, and all the industry and wealth of the nation were but the means of furnishing money for his wars. This could not last for ever; but ere it came to a close there were still some remarkable deeds to be performed. Napoleon proceeded to Chalons on the Marne by one of the great highways leading northwards from Paris, having resolved to deal first with Blucher, whom he justly deemed his most formidable enemy on the German side. With his compact army of 70,000 effective men, he drove forward the advanced bodies of the Germans; but Blucher having effected a junction with the Austrians and Russians at Trannes, brought an overwhelming force against Napoleon at La Rothière, which drove him back with considerable loss. Thus the first encounter in the conflict was decidedly against him, and its result spread a despondency through his army which must have deeply mortified him. But as Blucher approached nearer to Paris, his troops were separated; and Napoleon coming on a portion of them at Champaubert, defeated it, and cut the army in two. Another division was attacked at Montmirail, near Chateau Thierry, and defeated with great slaughter. The Prussian army was thus repulsed with a loss in the several conflicts, which rapidly succeeded each other, estimated at 20,000 men. But it was necessary immediately to move towards the south for the protection of the capital, which the Austrians and Russians were approaching so closely, that flying parties occupied Fontainebleau only thirty-five miles off, and the fugitive peasantry were rushing into Paris. Passing to the valley of the Seine by cross roads, Napoleon, with upwards of 50,000 men, drove the advanced parties back on Montereau. There he attacked

18th Feb. } the combined forces with more than his usual  
1814. } fury: it recalled the most brilliant efforts of his early career, for the Austrians and Russians were compelled to retreat with serious loss. Here again was a breathing time in the conflict; and though Napoleon, flushed with success, was ready to fight again, the allies hung back. In fact, between the vigour of his operations and the disorganized councils of his enemies, there was every reason to expect a

result in some way or other successful to him. Bernadotte, who commanded a large part of the invading force, was from rather commendable motives not sincerely anxious to push him to extremities. The Austrian commander was acting for the personal interests of his emperor rather than for those of the German people. Though the emperor did not like so warlike a neighbour as Napoleon, yet he wished to secure the throne to the line of Napoleon's descendants, who being his own near connexions would make a family alliance of a very convenient kind between Austria and France. He wished at the same time to keep the war near Italy, that he might recover his former possessions there. The Emperor of Russia could not participate in these motives, and so desired to strike right at the centre of the French government; and he was supported by Blucher, who had chiefly at heart whatever was calculated to humiliate the oppressors of his country. Moreover it was not the part of Britain to waste her men and money for the purpose of strengthening the house of Austria. We are now paying for the great military operations of 1814; for the sum expended by this country in that year exceeded a hundred millions of pounds. Having to pay for all, the British minister, Lord Castlereagh, thought he was fairly entitled to demand that the proceedings of the allies should be sincere and effective. He therefore threatened on his own responsibility to withhold the subsidies unless he saw the allies acting with decision. Napoleon had sent Caulaincourt as a representative to the congress. After the disaster with which the campaign began, he gave him full powers to treat for an arrangement which would greatly limit his power and the extent of the French territory. When he had gained the remarkable success just mentioned, he sent suddenly to revoke this authority, and bade Caulaincourt sign nothing—so easily could the domineering and aggrandizing spirit be again roused in him by success. It was now evident that nothing short of the annihilation of his power could save Europe from the ambition of the restless soldier. All the powers found it necessary to be in earnest, and on the 1st of March they signed a treaty at Chaumont, by which each of them engaged to provide 150,000 men; and Britain, still acting

as paymaster, further engaged to provide a sum of five millions sterling a-year.

2. Napoleon, having his comparatively small army reinforced by a portion of the troops which had been engaged in Spain, kept up the contest against Blucher with great spirit. The old Prussian—he was now considerably beyond seventy years of age—had more than once approached so near to Paris that the boom of his cannon was heard by the citizens; but, on the other hand, he made an extremely narrow escape from being cut off by Napoleon from the main army. After some doubtful battles round Laon, each of which left Napoleon weaker, while even their defeats did little to exhaust the power of the allies, they took by surprise the town of Rheims; but Napoleon retaliated with such marvellous promptitude that he retook it next day. This operation took place in the middle of March. Nearly a month earlier, Wellington had broken up from winter-quarters, and resolved to force a passage past Bayonne. At the passage of the river Orthes a severe contest took place, which ended in Soult's ordering a retreat, which was more like a rout. In fact, his soldiers, being always beaten, had become dispirited. No one but Napoleon himself had in this sinking period of the French fortunes influence enough to create enthusiasm and vigour among the troops. Another great battle, however, still remained to be fought. Soult took up his position in Toulouse, which was strongly fortified both by nature and art. It was with his usual calm deliberation that Wellington considered the propriety of attacking him in such a position. Part of the strength of the place consisted in its being invested by the waters of the Garonne and the Languedoc Canal. It was necessary to cross the river, and in this operation the British force was exposed to very imminent danger. The attempt was made by pontoons, which may be described as a kind of boats small enough to be conveyed with the luggage of an army. They are moored at intervals in the river to be passed, and beams thrown across them form a temporary bridge. On this occasion, after a portion of the army under Beresford had passed over, the river, probably from the spring melting of the snow on the mountains, became swollen, and it was necessary for the safety of the

pontoons to take them up. A period of intense anxiety ensued; but Soult did not think it prudent, even for so tempting an opportunity of attacking his enemies in detail, to leave his fortress, and three days afterwards the whole army was enabled to pass over. After a gallant and obstinate resistance the fortifications were abandoned, and this event concluded the war. Wellington and his army entered Toulouse in triumph; for just before the last narrated operations had been completed, momentous events had taken place which made the British appear as the friends and supporters of the dominant party in France.

THE OCCUPATION OF PARIS.—Napoleon, leaving Rheims, had joined Macdonald and Oudinot on the banks of the Aube, and, marching upwards, fought a doubtful conflict with the Austrians. He then crossed the river by a very dexterous movement, and commenced a retreat. He had, in fact, conceived a totally original project, which turned out to be as disastrous as most of his previous new ideas had been successful. Knowing that a little of the old-fashioned caution and timidity, by which he had so often profited, lingered in the Austrian army, he conceived that they would become alarmed were they to expect that their communications with Germany would be intercepted. Leaving a comparatively small force to protect Paris, he marched at once towards the Rhine, believing that he would immediately attract the Germans northwards to prevent their retreat from being cut off. He had at the same time the temptation of recruiting his army from such of his garrisons on the German frontier as had not surrendered. The allies had now two great alternatives before them. Should they do as Napoleon had expected them, or should they march on Paris, which was left almost open to receive them? Opinions were divided; but the enthusiasm and influence of the Emperor Alexander carried the resolution to march upon Paris. Winzingerode was despatched after Napoleon with a force sufficiently large to make him believe that the main army was following him. On the 25th of March, the grand army, joined by Blücher, received with a thrill of enthusiasm the order to march.

The state of suspense in which the inhabitants of that city were placed may be well imagined. Here were the injured

Prussians ravenous for vengeance, commanded by a half-savage chief; hordes, from countries with almost unknown names, from the distant provinces of wide-spread Austria, united with the Cossacks and other strange grotesque tribes from the still more distant and barbarous wilds of Russia. The Empress and the King of Rome were removed amid the agonizing anxiety of the citizens, who marked in this event the danger incurred by their own wives and children. Marmont and Mortier, who had been left with 25,000 men, took up a position on the neighbouring heights with some cannon. They demanded help from the inhabitants; but the conscription had already too severely drained them, and only a few national guards of no great use went to increase their force. There were internal dangers, too, from the republicans and the royalists, which, as no one knew their exact extent, were wildly exaggerated. A spirited resistance was at first offered by Marmont; but Joseph Bonaparte, holding its continuation to be only a useless effusion of blood, treated for a surrender. The troops would not submit; but they agreed to evacuate the city, and the lives and property of the citizens were guaranteed. On the 30th of March, the huge mixed army entered the capital of France in grand and glittering array. The Parisians are so passionately fond of military display, that they overlook its purport and cause in its dazzling fascination. By degrees they became reconciled to the strangers, and from being reconciled they proceeded from one stage of satisfaction to another, until they hailed them with extravagant and almost insane delight as their deliverers from tyranny—the tyranny of the man whom but a few days before they had so sincerely adored, that they did not grudge sacrificing their gallant sons to his glory.

3. THE RESTORATION.—In fact, a strong party-reaction had taken place in favour of legitimacy and the Bourbons. The Count of Artois, afterwards Charles X., had presented himself among the Germans, and involved them in some perplexity while they were making efforts to treat with Napoleon. His son, the Duke of Angoulême, had entered Wellington's head-quarters on the 25th of February, where he was an object of equal perplexity, as the British general, though probably wishing him well, and desirous to be polite

to him, could not acknowledge the pretensions of his family or professedly aid him. Thus these Bourbons kept themselves in places of safety, where, however, they were near enough the centre of action to notice the turn of events. The head of the family, the brother of the late king, and afterwards known as Louis XVIII., still remained in England. He had endeavoured to live in various parts of the Continent, but the influence of Napoleon drove him successively from place to place—even at last from Russia. He led a comfortable and retired life at Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire. He had few or no vices, save a too great partiality for good eating, through an indulgence in which he had become corpulent and unwieldy. He was in some respects a liberal-minded man; but he was always conscious of his own dignity as the head of the Bourbons, and could not think that he was ever less than the King of France, even when he dared not cross its border. It now seemed to him as if, by the natural progress of events, the throne were becoming cleared for him to take his seat on it, and he did not trouble himself about that contest which taxed the efforts of the greatest and bravest men of Europe, any farther than by merely getting himself ready to assume the crown. There had always been a Bourbon party, even in the days of Napoleon's highest glory, though it dared not speak out; but now its adherents came boldly forward, and it was they who surrounded and greeted the British army at Toulouse. Many of the citizens and peasantry having had their enthusiastic admiration of Napoleon stretched to its very utmost, a sort of reaction drove them to the other extreme of indignation at his selfish tyranny. But the allies had not yet come to a decision. As to Napoleon himself, when he first discovered that they had taken a resolution so wholly unexpected, he was stupified by a movement which he saw at once would dash his empire to the ground. He heard of it two days before the entry into Paris, and immediately began a rapid march. He reached Fontainebleau to learn that his capital was already in possession of his combined enemies. Hitherto, however, no efforts had been made to treat him as any other than a sovereign whose capital was in a conqueror's hands. The first movement towards his removal from the throne was in the form of a

recommendation that he should abdicate in favour of his son. This suggestion was haughtily rejected. He afterwards adopted it; but in the meantime different views were entertained by those who were now his masters. The reaction in favour of the Bourbons had gradually risen to the utmost height of enthusiasm in Paris, and was almost accompanied by violence. The allies—all but the Emperor of Austria—were too glad to take advantage of any excuse for their restoration. Events now went on rapidly. On the 7th of April, Louis XVIII. was proclaimed, Talleyrand, who had been one of Napoleon's most obsequious and valuable tools, placing himself at the head of the movement. Napoleon, deserted by the greater portion of his marshals, and finding that he had no means of putting troops in motion, even supposing them to be still faithful to him, had no alternative. If he wished to escape a prison and obtain any privilege or dignity he must abdicate. On the 11th of April, in deep despondency, which, considering his character, was not unnatural, he renounced for ever all the great fruits of his ambition and wonderful achievements. He was to have the sovereignty of the small island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, containing about 15,000 inhabitants, retaining at the same time the empty title of emperor. While passing through the south of France to take possession of this bauble throne, he experienced the sad fickleness of fortune in the unpopularity, and even enmity, which he encountered from the peasantry of those districts.

As the discarded occupant of the throne departed, his successor finding the way clear for his deliberate movements, left his quiet retreat in England; and on the 3d May, Louis XVIII. made his public entry into Paris. The rapidity with which the public functionaries, civil or military, transferred their allegiance was marvellous. Each was anxious to outstrip his neighbours, and pay the earliest court to the new monarch. If Napoleon saw this with bitter mortification, he saw only his own handiwork. He made them all servile to him, and they acted a servile part. With the short-sighted policy of despotism, he annihilated all independence, and yet thought that those who submitted would submit to him alone. And yet the manner in which the new

king took up his position startled the most obsequious of them. He would not admit that he owed his throne to an arrangement to which the Senate were parties, but professed to take it as if it were his own by divine right. He dated the year of his reign from the day of his brother's death, as if he had been king of France during all the wars and brilliant achievements of the Empire; and if the name of Napoleon could be blotted out of history, and the public documents of this reign were held to show when it began, it would appear that Louis XVIII., while he was in reality living in a quiet English country-house and enjoying good cheer, had been gaining countless victories, subjugating four-fifths of Europe, and spilling more blood than any other man that ever lived. It was a remark made by Napoleon himself, that the Bourbons had learned nothing and had forgotten nothing in their adversity. It is believed, however, that the absurd assumption of the former kingly position was not so much the doing of Louis himself as of his courtiers, most of whom had lived out of the world; and more especially of Blacas, an obstinate and unenlightened man, full of the notions of Louis the Fifteenth's days. Louis himself is believed to have had liberal views. He never objected to grant what was called a Charter, being the announcement of a representative constitution with two houses of parliament, something like the British constitution, but not on quite so wide a basis. But the very form in which this was presented was ungracious; because it appeared to be not what the people were entitled to demand from a king called by their own consent to rule over them, but what he of his own inclination and royal pleasure chose to grant to them. A general amnesty or obligation to take no notice of what had passed was also published; but this, too, was done in an unpopular form, as if every person who had served the republic and Napoleon was in reality a criminal, whom the king of his own good pleasure vouchsafed to pardon. The emigrant courtiers, and especially the king's brother and successor, the unfortunate Charles X., spoke still more offensively than they could act. Old titles began to be resumed, such as the Bourbon order of St Louis, and rumour said it would supersede the Legion of Honour. Nay, it began to be suspected that there was a design to restore



the estates of the old nobility, and thus deprive thousands of landowners of their property, the far greater part of which had been regularly bought. All this perhaps would have mattered little had the army been contented. A treaty was almost immediately executed, by which France was confined nearly to her old boundaries, retaining of all her conquests only Avignon, the old papal seat, and some other trifling strips of territory which it was really useful to the general geographical arrangement of Europe that she should possess. The army felt bitterly the humiliation of all their conquests slipping through their grasp. But they were obliged to give up their banners and cockades, with the names of their regiments—all serious mortifications to a sentimental and showy people like the French. The soldiers, now idle and with no prospect of war or plunder, talked affectionately of their “little corporal,” and longed for such days of excitement and enterprise as he gave them. When we consider his restless spirit, and that he was quite close to the shores of France, there appears something like fatality in the new court not making every effort to ingratiate itself with the people; but it was getting daily more unpopular, and Napoleon was carrying on an active correspondence with the heads of the disaffection.

A congress was in the meantime sitting at Vienna, at which all the great powers of Europe were represented, and arrangements were in progress for a new territorial division, broken up and tossed together as the various states had been. The continental monarchs, no longer cringing to a master, showed an undisguised grasping spirit. Each wanted something that others wanted; and they were about to break up and go to war, when there came upon them like a thunder-clap the news that Napoleon had landed in France, that the military were rallying round him, and that he would speedily reign in Paris. It was so startling that it was said to have created loud laughter when it was announced; and some one remarked, that the great cheat had beaten all the little ones. All discord was now at an end, and the contending parties united in a joint effort to meet the emergency.

4. THE HUNDRED DAYS.—Napoleon landed at Cannes on the 1st of March, with the mimic garrison which he had been

allowed to retain at Elba. He immediately circulated attractive proclamations, such as he well knew how to frame. His first critical ordeal was on approaching Grenoble, where a garrison was stationed. He presented himself to the sentries in the cocked hat and grey greatcoat with which they were so familiar, and said—there was their emperor defenceless; they might fire on him if they pleased. The effect was electrical—"It is our little corporal," cried the soldiers; and they ran round him, knelt down and embraced his knees. Their commanders, from necessity or choice, followed in the general movement. What showed a sort of settled purpose in the men was, that great numbers of them had concealed the tricolor cockades, which they now took with great triumph from their hiding-places. He entered Lyons at the head of a considerable army. The strongest resolutions of his old followers to act a sensible part and adhere to the new government seem to have disappeared at the fascination of his progress. The brave Ney set off to oppose him, threatening to bring him back in chains, and within a week was among his followers. It was now necessary that Louis should either resist or flee. He adopted the latter as the safer alternative, and leaving his palace on the 19th of March, it was entered by Napoleon on the 20th. The allied powers immediately came to an understanding. They were to treat Napoleon as a disturber of the world's peace, and not halt in their endeavours to destroy him. Four great armies were to encompass France. One, under Wellington, by the way of the Low Countries; another, commanded by Blücher, from the lower Rhenish provinces; a third, with Schwartzemberg at its head, by the Upper Rhine; and the fourth was to be a Russian army under Barclay de Tolly. As usual, Britain had to pay for nearly all; and the national expenditure of that eventful year was upwards of a hundred and twenty millions. So commenced the reign, from its duration called that of the Hundred Days. The position taken up by the army was a simple matter—they were all wild with enthusiasm for their old commander. But many of the citizens looked askance at him, as one who had ruled them with a rod of iron, from which they felt the feeble rule of the Bourbons a blessed relief, though even *they* were not great friends of liberty. It

was in accordance with Napoleon's tactics to go back to the principles of the revolution, promise ample freedom, and enlist the republicans in his cause; but they justly suspected him, fearing what he might do if he became strong again, and compared his offers to the gentleness of the sick lion. He allowed freedom of the press, and two chambers—the one a house of peers, the other representative; but even in appearance this was no better than the constitution offered by the Bourbons, and they felt sure that if Napoleon reigned, he would soon have power to set it aside. All depended on what the army could accomplish; and the people left the struggle to proceed between the emperor's forces and those of his opponents. Everything was done to flatter and intoxicate the troops. Their former designations and decorations were restored. Knowing the passion of the Parisians for pomp and display, he held a great demonstration, called after old practice the Champ de Mai, where he took the oath to the constitution amid all the splendour which military parade could give to a vast assemblage, and flattered the people by telling them that he owed everything to them.

In the meantime, he organized his troops with his usual promptitude. His design was immediately to interpose between Blücher and Wellington, and smite each in succession. He had an army 120,000 strong, and his two opponents had not between them above 190,000. The Duke of Wellington had on a previous occasion noticed a valley on the highway, between Brussels and the French frontiers, which he thought would be the most suitable position for checking an invading army, since it consisted of a moderate hollow between two gentle slopes running for some distance parallel to each other,—a place where two large armies could easily meet in a general engagement. On the 15th of June the French army crossed the frontiers. To enable Napoleon the better to pursue his plan of attacking the allies separately, Ney was sent with 46,000 men to occupy a place called Quatre-Bras, where two roads crossed each other, forming as it were four arms. It was a central point, intercepting the communication between several important places—as, for instance, between Namur at one end, and Brussels and Ghent at the other—and the pos-

session of it gave a great command over the communication between the British and Prussians. Blucher's army was posted at Ligny, a petty village about fifteen miles from Namur. There Napoleon made his first attack, with about 72,000 men, on a Prussian force rather more numerous. There was much furious fighting, in which the village was repeatedly lost and retaken by each army. In the end, considerable reinforcements gave the French the preponderance, and the Prussians were driven from their position. Old Blucher was unhorsed and ridden over both by friends and by foes; but though bruised and battered, he rallied his army with characteristic spirit and stubbornness. In the meantime, at Quatre-Bras, Ney had a combat with Wellington. The unexpected rapidity with which the French had crossed the frontier, rendered it necessary to march the allied troops from Brussels in detachments. The few who earliest arrived had a severe struggle; but the number thrown on the spot became eventually too great for Ney to continue the conflict.

5. WATERLOO.—Knowing that the army under Napoleon's immediate command, victorious over Blucher, would immediately drive matters to the issue of a general engagement, Wellington retired upon the ground which he had already selected near the village of Waterloo. Napoleon followed, and drew up his troops close to La Belle Alliance, on the other side of the shallow valley. The great paved road to Brussels passed directly through the two armies, and then entered the forest of Soignies, stretching behind the position of the British. The dawn of the 18th of June thus rose on the combatants with a fair field of battle before them, prepared to decide the fate of Europe. Under Napoleon there were nearly 80,000 men. Wellington commanded about 72,000, among whom there were but 30,000 British, the remainder being Germans, Dutch, and Belgians; but on neither side was the whole number engaged. The form in which the allies were ranged has been compared to the letter W; and it is said to have had this advantage, that every charge of the French was met both in front and in flank. In such a field of battle it is of immense importance to have possession of any spot which is protected by a wall or other cover. The British had two places of this kind, an old

chateau or mansion called Hougoumont, with a chapel and a strong orchard-wall in which they made embrasures for guns, and a farm-house called La Haye Sainte. Hougoumont was the centre of contest during the whole day, and though attacked with tremendous ferocity, was held to the end of the fight, when it was a blackened ruin full of the dead and wounded. The farm-house, which was occupied by a body of Hanoverians, was taken after a conflict in which all its defenders were killed. Excepting at these spots, the general character of the battle for several hours was a series of furious charges by the French, stubbornly resisted by the English. These charges, however, were in some measure retaliated. In one of these attacks, where the French line was pierced and several trophies seized from them, the advantage was in some respects dearly paid for by severe losses, including two distinguished commanders, Ponsonby and Picton. A fine body of French cavalry called Cuirassiers, from their wearing cuirasses or breastplates, added brilliancy and effect to these charges. The manner in which they were met by the British was chiefly by squares of infantry. The advantage of the square was, that it presented a face wherever it was attacked. The outside line knelt down, the next stooped, the third stood erect—thus they kept up a continuous fire of musketry and bristled with bayonets. In front of these squares was placed the artillery. From the opposite elevations the cannon dealt destruction among the masses on each side right across the hollow. As the cuirassiers approached in their charges they were frightfully ploughed by cannon; but when they came close, the artillerymen, unable to remain at their guns, took refuge within the squares, which were assailed over and over again by furious charges of cavalry, but without any effect. The allies had suffered greatly, and indeed the Belgians and some other foreign troops had been broken and dispersed; but Napoleon's force was still more severely exhausted. Blücher had in the meantime promised to join Wellington. The weather had been rainy, and the roads had become nearly impassable, so that it was only by almost superhuman efforts that, late in the day, the Prussians could accomplish the junction. As the sound of their approaching cannon was heard, Napoleon felt that unless he could immediately ac-

comply with a victory over Wellington, his chance of fighting his enemies in detail was gone. Accordingly he organized a general charge full on the centre of the British line. To this last great effort he brought up his whole disposable force, including the old and young guard—the flower of the French army. The cannon were so effectively served on the British side, that whole lines were swept off as they approached. They had to mount the hill, on the crest of which were ranged the main force of the British, while the reserves were kept behind the ridge out of the way of cannon-shot. A counter-charge drove back the French in confusion. The approach of Blücher was now distinctly seen, and the time had come for the British commander to finish the battle. Ere the broken and retiring columns which had made their last great attack could get into order, the Duke of Wellington ordered a general charge. The appearance of a whole army which had remained passive, only vigorously defending itself, during an entire day of slaughter, now rising all at once, and advancing on its harassed and confused opponents, was a sight which even the French commanders who saw it afterwards spoke of as sublime. The effect was exterminating. For the first time in his life, Napoleon entirely lost all power of command or consciousness of anything to be done but to preserve himself. All fled in wild confusion. The exhausted British army remained on the field. They had gained the victory; and the Prussians, who had a more revengeful feeling against the French, undertook the less distinguished function of pursuing them; and for a long distance along the wide paved Flemish road a crowd of miserable fugitives pressed onwards towards the Sambre, where they might cross and hide themselves in their own country. They were followed by men inspired not merely by warlike fury but by national hatred, and thousands on thousands of them were mercilessly put to death by Blücher's ruthless soldiers.

It may well be believed that there was breathless expectation in Paris. Many wise statesmen felt their position to be cruelly doubtful; for they would not like to see their country humiliated, yet feared the effect of restoring Napoleon's ascendancy. In the early part of the day they had heard that victory was certain—nay, that

it had been gained; and the presence of Napoleon himself was almost the first announcement of the terrible defeat. The Chamber of Deputies was divided. Napoleon had still friends there who would have aided him in a project to establish himself as dictator, gather his troops, and defend Paris. He adopted, however, the advice to abdicate in favour of his son. Whatever difficulties this might have created were speedily removed, for the matter was not left to be settled by the French. Wellington and Blücher marched straight on to Paris, which they entered on the 7th of July; and next day, being so well protected, Louis thought he might safely return.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What took place at the close of the year 1813? State the several forces which entered France. What was Napoleon's position towards them? What domestic difficulties and dangers had he to encounter? What congress was held? How was an offer from it treated? How did the war recommence? What was the character of the first conflict? What steps did Napoleon take for the defence of the capital? Describe the state of his opponents. How did Britain act on the occasion? What was the treaty of Chaumont?

2. What was the character of the contest with Blücher? Give an account of the state of the contest towards Spain. Give an account of the capture of Toulouse. What original project did Napoleon conceive for perplexing his enemies? What decided measure did it prompt them to adopt? Describe the state of Paris. Give an account of its occupation by the allied troops.

3. Give an account of the proceedings of the Bourbon princes. What sort of a man was Louis XVIII.? What was Napoleon's conduct when he heard of the movement of the allies? When was Louis XVIII. proclaimed? To what position was Napoleon reduced? What arrangements were made for him? What peculiarities characterized the restoration of the Bourbons? What symptoms created alarm? How were the troops treated, and what effect had the treatment? What was going on at Vienna? What event startled the conference?

4. When did Napoleon land? How was he received? How did Ney act? How did Louis XVIII. act? What measure was adopted by the great powers? What was this short reign of Napoleon called? How did the army and the citizens respectively feel towards him? What measures did he adopt? How did he propose to strike his enemies? Give an account of the operations in the Low Countries which preceded the battle of Waterloo.

5. Describe the method in which the armies took up their positions at Waterloo. What were the forces on either side? What edifices were attacked and defended? What was the general character of the battle, and of the operations of the two armies? Describe the last great effort made by Napoleon. Describe the general charge by which it was followed. What was the result of the battle?

## CHAPTER XIX.

FROM THE PEACE TO THE SECOND REVOLUTION,  
A. D. 1815—1830.

The Destiny of Napoleon—The Humiliation of France—Louis XVIII.  
—The Duke of Berry—The Legitimists—Villele—Charles X.—  
Attempt to restore Despotism—The Press—Algiers—The Polignac  
Ministry—The Ordinances of July—The Resistance—The Barricades  
—The Three Days—Lafayette—Louis Philippe.

1. THE most difficult question which the allies had to deal with was the disposal of Napoleon. The principle on which they coalesced was to get rid for ever of all danger to the peace of Europe from that quarter, which could not be accomplished without a certain amount of harshness. It is believed that he wished to escape to America; but all the European seas swarmed with British ships of war, and at length he adopted the alternative of embarking on board of the *Bellerophon*, commanded by Captain Maitland. He paid a compliment on the occasion to the British nation with his usual skill, demanding the protection of the British laws, and professing that he threw himself on the hospitality of "the most powerful, the most consistent, and the most generous of his enemies." For the purpose of securing him, and at the same time subjecting him as little as possible to personal interference, it was resolved that he should take up his residence in some distant island. St Helena, a small rocky island in the South Atlantic, 800 miles from any other land, and far remote from civilized places, was selected for this purpose. The duty of preventing his escape almost necessarily rested with Britain, as possessed of the chief naval force. It was an invidious distinction which involved the country in the perpetual charge of courting the functions of the jailer. The objections, however, to the arrangement were more sentimental than real. The preservation of the peace of Europe was



too important to be sacrificed to a prejudice in favour of an individual. He had himself immured multitudes in dreary dungeons ; and many English people—some of them of rank and distinction—detained by him at the breaking out of the war, had been for twelve years entirely cut off from all communication with their country and family. It was certainly right that every effort should be made to render his isolation as little irksome as possible ; but he complained that this was not done, and he raised the sympathy of Europe in his favour. It is believed, however, that his chafed and restless temper was the chief cause of his uneasiness. He was like the captive eagle striving to soar, and knocking himself against the bars of his cage. A few faithful followers adhered to him, of whom his wife was not one. It was, indeed, one of the griefs of his falling fortunes, that death removed from him the companion and adviser of his early days—the repudiated but still esteemed Josephine. His uneasy existence came to an end on the 5th of May 1821. He was buried beneath a willow-tree, in one of the few green spots which that barren isle produced. His son, who was born as the heir of so much glory, lived in close retirement, and was kept in ignorance of the great place his father had occupied in history. He was a well-disposed youth, of somewhat weak mind, and he died of a decline in 1832.

Paris presented a strange and what must have been felt by the people as a humiliating scene. Blucher kept his Sile-sians stationed in the streets with loaded cannon, superseding all local authorities civil and military. Wellington's troops were encamped in the forest or park of Boulogne, the place of gay resort for the fashionable citizens of Paris. To have near them the army which had gained so great a victory over them, must have been sadly humbling to the sensitive Parisians. But they suffered more substantial injuries and insults from the Prussians, who had many bitter humiliations to avenge, and were by no means scrupulous in their conduct. Blucher looked with special dislike at the fine bridge of Jena as commemorative of German defeat and suffering. He resolved to destroy it ; and had made some progress in digging mines to blow it up, when the Duke of Wellington, and it has been said Alexander of Russia,

interposed for its preservation. As if the two armies already occupying the capital were insufficient for the entire prostration of France, still larger forces were approaching under the Emperors of Austria and Russia. Though the bridge of Jena and the triumphal column of Austerlitz were spared, yet France lost other trophies, which, though their removal was only a restoration to the original owners of property taken from them, was felt to be a very severe humiliation. The finest works of art throughout the continent—from Germany, Spain, and especially from Italy—had been brought together in Paris, which they made the general centre of all that was best worth seeing in the world. Had they remained there, those who now visit more distant countries in pursuit of art would have been content to stop at Paris. They would have been looked at, too, as the trophies of national valour, which gave them a much higher place in the eyes of the French than had they been the produce of their own industry and genius. Some idea may be formed of the value of this collection, when it is said that for two paintings—the St Cecilia of Raphael and the St Jerome of Correggio—the original Italian owners offered £40,000. The sensitiveness of the Parisians on the subject made the allies spare these treasures at the previous occupation of the city; but it was now resolved that the French should be punished and humiliated for having taken Napoleon back to their affections. Blucher, with his characteristic bluntness, was the first to claim the plunder of Prussia, amounting to 2000 separate articles. The other nations followed in succession, and the Parisians with intense bitterness saw the hateful foreign troops busily employed in stripping their capital of all its artistic glories.

2. Meanwhile, with their chief city occupied by foreign troops, the French were still ignorant what sort of government they were to have, and how large the empire of France was to be. The legislature, while declaiming furiously against the restoration of Louis, sent Fouché as a messenger to the Duke of Wellington to seek an explanation of his intentions. The duke proposed that they should speak with Louis; and Fouché, the republican, who had just served Napoleon, and represented an assembly which repudiated

Louis, at once assented. Louis, who had still less reason to like Fouché than that sharp politician had for being faithful to a Bourbon prince, at once received him as a king does his subject, and offered him the appointment of minister of police. He accepted it without hesitation, and went back to his colleagues, to whom he had the impudence to mention his appointment as a proof of the sound manner in which Louis proposed to govern. The Chambers reproached him bitterly for his duplicity, and separated with vows that they would meet again and act as independent legislatures despite the presence of the foreigners. But when they returned to their hall, their entrance to it was opposed by foreign sentries—a ruder insult even than their dispersal by Bonaparte in the orangery. In such circumstances did Louis re-enter the capital; and it was observed that the national humiliation weighed heavy on his spirits. Yet there was so much money spent, especially by the English officers, and there were so many gay and brilliant scenes to be witnessed, that the volatile Parisians seemed soon to forget the past, and to enjoy themselves with the vanities of the day.

But more serious affairs had still to be considered—the terms on which the conquering armies would consent to leave the country. The neighbouring powers—Austria, Prussia, the Netherlands, &c.—greedily demanded cessions of territory from France; but their efforts were neutralized by Britain and Russia, who, not having a like interest in their own aggrandizement, did not care to see any one European state acquire too great an influence at the expense of others. Still it was resolved to punish the French. The small acquisitions left by the last treaty, Avignon excepted, were taken away, and the kingdom was brought still nearer to its old limits. A war contribution, amounting to about twenty-eight millions sterling, was made a debt against the country, to refund the expense to which she had subjected the other European powers. A farther sum of eight millions was exacted to build frontier fortifications; and more effectually still to bridle the country, it was demanded that 150,000 foreign troops should remain in garrison in the principal fortresses, which they held until the winter of 1818. Louis professed to feel bitterly

humiliated by these hard conditions, but still he showed no reluctance to be bound by them rather than risk the possession of the throne, or even any disagreeable disputes. In fact, he made a dexterous use of the occasion to get rid of Talleyrand. That minister had pleaded for better terms to his country with great diplomatic ability; and, among other sagacious ideas, had offered to concur with Britain in the destruction of the slave-trade, if our representative would aid him. The king, however, had been making arrangements with the old royalists; and, on the plea that Talleyrand had not influence to carry out the conditions in favour of France which he desired, appointed the Duke of Richelieu in his place. Scarcely any modification of the terms was however obtained, save the shortening to five years of the residence of the foreign troops. Besides the general indemnity for the war, particular countries demanded redress for outrages and losses; and the whole sum charged against France amounted to about sixty millions of pounds. The last drop was poured into the cup of bitterness when the army, so long victorious and the terror of Europe, was completely disbanded, and a new one was organized with no associations save what were connected with their country's calamities.

3. The history of France is now for several years one of quietness and comparative uniformity. The charter previously granted by Louis XVIII. was in some measure altered, by increasing the number of the deputies and otherwise. The elections took place in August, and the legislature was opened in October. Notwithstanding the humiliation which the Bourbon king had brought with him, a previous reaction in his favour had taken place, and a great majority of strenuous royalists were returned to the Chamber of Deputies. They were, as such parties sometimes become, utterly heedless and extravagant in their views. Their leader in the royal family was the king's brother, the Count of Artois, afterwards Charles X. The king was too sensible and perhaps too fond of his ease to yield to all their desperate projects; and it used to be a saying among them that the king was not monarchical enough,—but his bigoted brother was prepared to go all lengths. Louis, in fact, was in a situation not unlike that

in which Charles II. was placed by the general election of 1661, when the House of Commons was for some years more zealous for royalty than the king. The monarchical fanaticism of the Chamber at last became so troublesome that the king was obliged to dissolve it before it had been a year old, and then to use means, which in this country we should consider utterly unwarranted, to get a moderate Chamber chosen. Gradually, however, the temper of the people veered the other way, and both Louis and his minister Richelieu became alarmed by the republican tendency of the elections. The ultra-royalists, who were desperate men, took advantage of this fear, and on many occasions sided with the ultra-republicans, whom they naturally hated, to defeat the moderate party who held the government. In 1818, the king and his friends became alarmed for the safety of the dynasty; and the question came to be, whether a more liberal or a more stringent and despotic policy should prevail. Fortunately for Louis XVIII., as his successors afterwards found, the former policy prevailed, and he put himself in the hands of the constitutional minister Decazes. A somewhat stormy period followed, when several extreme motions were carried; among which the house of peers had the hardihood to pass a vote in favour of narrowing and almost abolishing the electoral system. At the commencement of the year 1820 an unfortunate event created a legitimist reaction, which broke for the time through all reasonable bounds. The king's brother had a son, the Duke of Berry, through whom the only chance lay of this branch of the Bourbon family being continued. He was a very amiable and popular young man, liked by the people, and almost worshipped by the courtiers. As he was stepping into his carriage at the door of the opera-house, he was stabbed by an assassin, and speedily died of his wound. The liberalism of Decazes became so odious under this event, that he was obliged to resign, and Richelieu was reinstated. Nay, such a reaction did the young prince's murder create, that under its shadow the censorship of the press was established, and a change of the electoral law was made, which, by the creation of electoral colleges, greatly favoured the power of the higher and more monarchical classes. Desperate resistance was offered to this project and the other

acts of the ministry, but in vain, since it was impossible to rouse the people to any fervid opposition against the court; and the reaction in its favour was increased by the Duchess of Berry giving birth to a posthumous child, the unfortunate Duke of Bordeaux. A still stronger royalist ministry was demanded, and with some reluctance the now decrepit old king sanctioned the appointment of Villèle, Montmorancy, and Peyronnet, men renowned for thinking and acting as if the times of Louis XIV. were come again. The intolerance of the majority in the chamber was shown by their conduct to a liberal member, M. Manuel, who having said something about the King of Spain—such as might be said every moment in our parliament about any potentate, but which offended their loyalty—they had him dragged out of the Chamber by a body of gendarmes or armed police. The state of feeling indeed was such as to alarm the free nations, and Britain in particular, that France was not only to be despotic itself, but to force despotism on other states. A disposition was shown to interfere wherever the smaller neighbouring countries adopted constitutional principles; and at length it was resolved to support Ferdinand of Spain against the restrictions of the Cortes, and a large French army at great cost was marched into that country. There was a double policy in this, for it was destined both to further the cause of hereditary monarchy and to gratify the army by giving it employment. Little resistance was offered, and the European war which might have arisen out of such an event fortunately did not occur. During these events it was seen that the days of the poor old king were coming to an end, and he died on the 16th September 1824.

4. CHARLES X.—The brother of the late king, Charles X., was one of those men who may be admired for the firmness and steadiness with which they adhere to their principles, but whose principles are so unfortunately chosen as to be a curse to themselves and others. Yet when he ascended the throne he enjoyed a considerable share of popularity. It was first shaken by one of those mere personal and incidental matters which have often exercised so great an influence over the fate of France. Ouvrard, who had contracted for the supply of the French army in Spain, was found to have committed great peculations, and to have

involved the nation in serious losses, in which many parties in high station were implicated. Villèle, who still held power, was strongly believed to have used his efforts rather to suppress than to further inquiry, and a reaction of unpopularity now began to set in. Meanwhile the newspaper press had become a powerful organ in France, and its influence was daily increasing. It early attracted the attention of the priesthood, who in their turn were rising in influence, and who waged a deadly war against the growing ascendancy of the press. The frightful infidelity of the revolution had made the court and aristocracy believe that the power of a priesthood was very useful to them; and the French clergy, aided by the Jesuits, were encouraged in strong aggressions on the popular freedom. It was resolved in 1827 to strike a blow against their rivals of the press. Peyronnet somewhat astonished even the loyal deputies by introducing a measure which laid a tax of a franc, or 10d., on each newspaper sheet, and burdened the proprietor with many restrictions and penalties. This measure naturally created a great ferment. It was ineffectually opposed in the Chamber of Deputies; but when it entered the Peers an investigation was entered on. Owners and editors of papers gave evidence on its probable effect; and so strong an opposition was created that the measure was withdrawn. The king soon afterwards met with a cold reception from the national guard of Paris, which showed too plainly his unpopularity; and that body, which the French looked upon as the palladium of their liberty, was abolished. To increase the royalist influence in the upper house, the minister created seventy-six new peers, and as he required to take a considerable number of them from the ministerial side of the deputies, he dissolved the Chambers, hoping to get their places filled, and even to obtain a larger majority in the Chamber of Deputies. But there was a new spirit rising through the country, and the result was the very reverse of what he expected. All the liberal candidates were elected in Paris, and a general majority for the same party appeared throughout France, accompanied by some turbulence in which blood was shed. Villèle resigned, and was succeeded by Martignac, who was bound to give as much effect to his predecessor's opinions as he could. The liberal majority

was all-powerful, and the concessions, as they were termed, which Martignac found it necessary to make, roused the legitimists almost to fury. The king himself was always dignified, cool, and reserved; and he waited until Martignac had been defeated in a rather liberal measure relating to the municipalities, when, on the ground that

8th August }  
1829. } he did not command a majority, his ministry was very suddenly dismissed.

**THE POLIGNAC MINISTRY.**—A new ministry was now formed under the Prince of Polignac—a strenuous royalist of the old school. Symptoms appeared of movements towards the system of the older Bourbons in various shapes, such as the re-establishment of primogeniture and the restoration of aristocratic privileges; while the king, who did not conceal his sentiments, always treated with sternness and haughty menace even the highest official persons, if he thought they were not conforming to his wishes. He had been heard ominously to revert to a clause in the charter which authorized the king to adopt any measure necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state. An effort, however, was made to gratify the public mind by some warlike operation, and in 1830 an expedition was sent out to Algiers under Marshal Bourmont. The capital of the great man-stealer, the Dey of Algiers, was easily taken possession of, and a great treasure was found in his strongholds. By an understanding with Britain, the French bound themselves not to make permanent conquests in Africa. The fulfilment of this arrangement was wisely, so far as this nation is concerned, never insisted on, and the French have gone on subduing and colonizing an unprofitable country at the expense of much blood and treasure. It has given full play to their warlike propensities, and kept them from attacking their neighbours. They believe that it has done them service in training their soldiers, but as yet, with a trifling exception, these soldiers have only had to fight in Europe against their fellow-citizens. But even the glitter of the Algerine expedition could not take off attention from what was going on at home. The king and his ministry were preparing for a death-struggle with the majority of the Chamber of Deputies and of the people. At the beginning of the session of 1830, the address was a declaration that the majority of



the Chambers were against the ministry—such an address as in this country would immediately render the resignation of the ministers necessary. The Chambers were dissolved; and at the same time the daring and unscrupulous royalist Peyronnet was added to the ministry, while some moderate members retired. The king addressed a threatening proclamation to the electors, but they returned a still larger majority than ever against him. The country was in a ferment; men talked of refusing to pay the taxes; and in Normandy mysterious incendiary fires spread consternation through the rural population.

It was now resolved to bring matters to an issue, and it was believed by the court that the successes in Algiers made the time favourable for it. After much consultation, in which the firmness of the king appears to have overawed all doubt, certain ordinances or proclamations were published on the 26th July, of which one abolished all the liberty the press still enjoyed, by forbidding the publication of any journal unless previously authorized; a second dissolved the Chamber of Deputies; and a third altered the law of election.

5. REVOLUTION OF THE BARRICADES.—The appearance of these ordinances next morning in the official organ of the government, the *Moniteur*, is said to have produced a feeling of stupefaction and incredulity. They were not fully comprehended until they appeared in the newspapers with comments. These were an offence against them, and produced a proclamation by the prefect of police for the seizure of papers contravening the ordinances, and of the persons connected with them. Upon this the editors of the newspapers met and drew up and signed a spirited protest against the ordinances as illegal. This was the first decided rally against the government. Of the four hundred deputies just elected only about thirty were in Paris—the rest were still in the provinces. The liberal party, however, among this small number, met in the house of Casimir Périer, and while they deliberated others joined them. Early on the 27th they issued a protest, signed by sixty-two members, against the legality of the dissolution of their Chamber. As it became known to the inhabitants that they were thus occupied, a crowd began to assemble round Casimir Périer's house.

They were attacked by the armed police, and in this manner the first blood was shed. As the editors of the journals disregarded the ordinances, strong bodies of police attacked their premises, and seized their types and presses. Some of the journalists tried the question of the legality of the ordinances before the courts of law by prosecuting their printers, who refused to run the risk of fulfilling the obligations they had undertaken to print the papers. The judges found that the ordinances were illegal, and did not exempt the printers from liability to fulfil their engagements.

The crowds in the meantime thickened and grew more formidable. The troops of the line were sent to disperse them; but they were amicably received by the citizens in the streets, who went forward and shook hands with them instead of taking to flight. The men would not fire on people thus receiving them, and the officers were perplexed. The troops of the line were removed, and the royal guard and lancers sent against the mob, whom they charged mercilessly without any warning. The slaughter thus produced increased the indignation of the crowd, who were seen carrying about the body of a young woman shot through the forehead by a musket-ball. A search was now made in all quarters for arms, and by midnight a large number of the citizens were armed. During the night they set about forming the celebrated barricades which have given a name to this revolution. Their principal materials were the large paving stones used in Paris, but overturned carriages, waggons and carts, barrels, and any kind of heavy furniture, were applied to use. On the morning of the 28th, the terminations of the great streets were thus so many strong fortifications; and another remarkable feature was the appearance of numerous placards at the corners of the streets, all announcing that the national guard was arming. The guards had only been for about three years dissolved, and it was not difficult for them to reorganize themselves in their old form. As they assembled in their various arrondissements they were tumultuously cheered by the populace, who now felt secure of military assistance. About eight o'clock the attack on the several posts occupied by the royal forces became general.

Paris was declared by a royal proclamation to be in a state of siege, that is, it was put under martial law, and the command of the troops was given to Marmont. The national guards and the mob were joined by the students of the various academies, and particularly by those of the Polytechnic School, whose zeal and technical skill were of eminent service in the conflict. The chief sufferings of the troops were from individuals stationed at the windows of the houses, who brought them down by firearms, and assailed them with paving-stones and other heavy missiles. But the most obstinate contest took place at the Swiss barracks,—the occupants of which, hired from another country, and receiving higher pay than the native troops, felt no sympathy with the people, and had every motive to defend the crown. They fought with devoted heroism, and were only finally overcome by a huge pile of straw steeped in turpentine being piled against the building and set on fire. The most important centre of defence and attack was the famed Hotel de Ville, or city-hall. Its possession was almost equivalent to commanding the government, so much had the citizens been accustomed, especially in revolutionary times, to hear their fate dictated from its mysterious chambers. It was repeatedly taken and retaken by both sides with considerable slaughter, and many conflicts took place at the various avenues where the royalists sought to cut off the approach of their enemies. At night it was still held for the government; but the attacks had been so unceasingly repeated as to exhaust the defenders, and when they were renewed with equal vigour on the 29th, the defence was abandoned. The few troops of the line who adhered to the government were becoming sick of their work; and the carelessness of their superiors had exposed them to great hardships, for they were not supplied with sufficient rations of food. The liberal deputies were in the meantime not idle. They held a meeting at the house of the banker Lafitte, whence a deputation was sent to treat with Marmont, on the 29th. They proposed the recall of the ordinances, the dismissal of ministers, and the convocation of the Chambers. Marmont went to the next room, where Polignac was seated, and after taking his instructions from that minister, returned

an unfavourable answer. A provisional government, called "A Commission to watch over the Public Interests," was then named, and Lafayette, the veteran soldier and patriot, was appointed to the command of the national guards. On the same day, Marmont concentrated his forces at the Louvre, where artillery was mounted, and, along with the royal guard, such of the Swiss as had escaped from the barracks were stationed. The popular forces were led to the attack by General Gerard. The post was approached and attacked from various quarters, and resistance became hopeless. It was surrendered, the troops who escaped from it passing on to the Tuileries. Here, too, they were assailed with unabated spirit by overwhelming numbers, and this last stronghold also fell. The military part of the revolution might now be considered as completed.

The royal family were at St Cloud. From various quarters rumours and statements of what was going on had reached them. The king himself treated everything with haughty and stolid indifference, looking on the possibility of any serious danger to his throne as something too ludicrous to be entertained. He expressed himself much displeased with those who ventured into his presence without the usual ceremonials, and was surprised at the agitation of a young artist to whom he sat for his portrait. But the other members of the family were keenly alive to the perils by which they were surrounded. It was only when the broken ranks of the troops approached St Cloud, and there was visible danger, that the besotted old man became alive to his position. Still he acted with his old stiff dignity. He issued a proclamation, not intended to be a concession, but more like an act of mercy to the deluded citizens—but it was far too late to be of the least service. He retreated to Rambouillet; and there, before leaving the kingdom, he was at last persuaded that the best plan for preserving the crown to his family was to abdicate in favour of the Duke of Bordeaux, an act in which the dauphin joined. This was communicated in a letter of 2d August to the Duke of Orleans, whom he at the same time professed to appoint lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

6. LOUIS PHILIPPE.—This act of abdication did nothing more than sanction what had already been done. A pro-

clamation had been issued from the city-hall commencing with the words, "Charles X. has ceased to reign!" and the statement was confirmed by the rapturous applause of the populace. To them the state of things might seem very simple; but to all thinking men, who had influence and the opportunity of playing a part, such a crisis must have been very awful. One party called for a republic; another for the elevation of Napoleon's son to the throne; and a third, and by far the most influential and numerous, thought of taking example from the British revolution of 1688, and passing to another branch of the royal family. The Duke of Orleans, son of the infamous Egalité, was the person on whom this party cast their eyes. Unlike his father, he had led a meritorious and honourable life in circumstances of extraordinary difficulty. His vicissitudes of fortune even at this time had been like a romance. He had taught in a school in Switzerland under the English name of Corby, and wandered over all Europe and a great part of America. He was living in retirement with his amiable family at Neuilly when the revolution of 1830 broke out. The power of acting in the selection of the new system of government, though so many were concerned in the revolution, lay with but one man—Lafayette. He might have made himself head of a republic, at least for a time, but he wisely adopted the resolution of confiding in Louis Philippe, the duke of Orleans. On the afternoon of the 30th, a deputation was sent to that prince to desire that he would allow himself to be named Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom. After some consideration he consented, and the appointment, as we have seen, was confirmed by the fugitive king. He was installed amid popular acclamation at the Hotel de Ville, and thenceforth conducted the government of the country. The Chambers assembled on the 3d of August, the day for which they had been originally convoked. Thither all the parties brought their different views of government; but the preponderance in favour of what was called "a monarchy surrounded with republican institutions" was so great, that with much rapidity a vote was carried calling Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, and his male descendants, to the throne. All his friends advised him to accept. The advice was seconded by the ministers of the fo-

reign monarchs, who saw that unless it were followed France would set what they held the bad example of republicanism ; and this advice was of great importance to the prince himself, as it tended to secure for him the countenance of foreign courts. He at length agreed to accept the crown, and was solemnly inaugurated on the 19th of August. He had been on friendly terms with Charles X. ; and if his appointment as lieutenant-general had really depended on that monarch, he might have been chargeable with a treacherous use of the position it gave him. But the slightest influence of Charles X. on the destinies of the country had entirely disappeared.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What great difficulty had the allies to deal with ? What was done with Napoleon ? What sort of life did he lead ? What was the history of his son ? Describe the condition of Paris. What act of the allies inflicted a great humiliation on the citizens ?

2. Give an account of the conduct of Fouché. What occurred to the Chambers ? In what circumstances did Louis XVIII. return ? What powers demanded territories, and how were their efforts neutralized ? Give an account of the terms to which France was subjected. How was Talleyrand treated in the negotiations ?

3. How did the new reign begin ? What kind of political fanaticism had sprung up ? How did the king feel on the subject ? What course did he pursue in 1818 ? What vote was carried in the House of Peers ? What event created a reaction ? Give an account of the affair of M. Manuel. What course was pursued towards Spain ? When did Louis die ?

4. Who succeeded Louis XVIII. ? What was Charles the Tenth's character ? What created a reaction against him ? What rival powers influenced the public mind ? What attempt was made against the press ? Describe the attempt to make the royalist influence predominant in the legislature, and the effect it had. What ministerial change took place ? What projects were entertained by the king ? What military expedition was expected to give them popularity ? How did the elections turn ? What ordinances were published ?

5. What was the effect of the appearance of the ordinances ? How did the liberal deputies act ? How did the editors and the courts of law act ? Give an account of the events which took place in the streets of Paris. What negotiation was attempted ? Give an account of the conduct of the king and the rest of the royal family. In whose favour did Charles X. abdicate ?

6. What proclamation issued from the city-hall ? What were the demands of the several parties ? What example did the most influential and numerous party adopt ? To whom did they look ? Give an account of Louis Philippe. How did Lafayette act ? Describe the manner in which Louis Philippe was raised to the throne.

## CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE TO THE MIDDLE  
OF THE CENTURY, A. D. 1830—1850.

The Citizen King and his Government—The *Émeutes*—Guizot and Thiers—The Assassination Plots—The King's Ambition—The Spanish Marriages—The Reform Banquets—The Revolution of 1848—The Socialists and Republicans—Lamartine—The Battle of Paris—Cavaignac—Louis Napoleon.

1. THE CITIZEN KING.—The title taken by the new king was King of the French, intimating that he was rather the chief of the people than the lord of the territory. Simplicity and a tendency to republicanism were at first the peculiarities of his reign, and hence he was popularly called the Citizen King. As the support of the principles of the charter had been the excuse for the insurrection, that document became the basis of the securities given by the new monarch. Some changes were made—such as an alteration in the peerage law, by which the king could only ennoble persons who had done certain services to the state, or obtained public distinctions. Arrangements were made for altering the law of election in the ensuing year. The franchise was confined to males twenty-five years old, who paid direct taxes amounting to 200 francs, or £8 of our money. These formed but a limited body, and the narrowness of the franchise then created is at least one of the causes of the recent revolution.

The new government had of course numerous difficulties to contend with, but it obtained the services of very able men,—such as Guizot, who had raised himself as a journalist, Broglie, Molé, Sebastian, and Dupont de l'Eure. Subsequently it was found necessary to introduce more democratic elements under the auspices of the powerful banker Lafitte. He was soon afterwards superseded by Casimir Périer, whose early loss was so much regret-

ted. In fact Paris was as yet far from tranquil. The excitement of the Three Days, the term applied to the period of the contest, was not to be immediately calmed down. *Émeutes*, or political riots, were ever occurring; and it became necessary even for the revolutionary government to meet them with the strong hand. The country had to pass through one very formidable ordeal—the trial of the late ministers. It could not be said that men who had agreed to deprive a nation of their constitution, merely because an opposition majority had been elected to parliament, should go unpunished. The people, however, would have condemned them at once to destruction, instead of fairly estimating their offences by a deliberate inquiry. The palace of the Luxembourg, where they were tried, had to be garrisoned and fortified by cannon. After a trial almost as exciting and formidable to their opponents as to themselves, they were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. It was some time ere the stability of commerce and industry triumphed over the shock of the revolution; and while they were still prostrate, and the country suffering under various calamities, it was visited by cholera in 1832. Its virulence was aggravated by the barbarous fury of the mob, who charged the physicians with poisoning the people; and when arrangements were made for cleansing the streets, the *chiffonniers*, wretches who live by scraping among cinders and filth, were numerous enough to resist them and make a formidable riot. This imbibited the latter hours of the prime-minister Périer, who fell a victim to the epidemic and his efforts for its abatement. On the occasion of any public event a dangerous riot generally occurred, and the death of a popular man was always an object of anxiety, from the publicity it would create. At the funeral of General Lamarque an insurrection took place so formidable as to threaten the very existence of the government. In 1834, a formidable outbreak occurred among the artisans of Lyons. This town, doomed as we have seen to destruction in the fury of the old revolution, had risen to a state of high prosperity as the centre of the silk manufacture in France. But though a busy it was a restless place; and the method of conducting its industry unhappily afforded a ready system of organization for any tumult. This was taken advantage of in 1834, so far



that arrangements were made for an insurrection in Lyons which was to be followed up by the republicans throughout France. The conspirators who were nearer the headquarters of the government saw reason for postponing the outbreak; but the workmen of Lyons, too impatient to wait, burst into insurrection. Their fine town was for several days the theatre of an exterminating war, accompanied by the saddest and most horrible scenes, such as have in late years been witnessed in other parts of France, but have been long unknown in this country. Along with these difficulties of endless democratic insurrections, Louis Philippe's government combated with another, which had rather a ludicrous termination, and tended on the whole to strengthen his power. The peasantry of La Vendée still retained some of their ancient predilections, and it was thought that if any member of the old reigning house went among them they would rise with enthusiasm. The Duchess of Berry, the widow of the murdered son of Charles X., undertook this project. She encountered great hardships, and raised up a spirit which for some time was supposed to be formidable, but in the end her own moral conduct proved to be of a kind which dissolved all associations with self-devotion and oppressed innocence.

2. By the year 1835, the various attempts of the republicans having been put down, the party became comparatively quiet, and a frightful incident then occurred, which had such an influence on the public mind as to make them unpopular. It was usual to hold the anniversary of the Revolution of 1830 as a national festival at which the king presided. On the 28th of July 1835, he was reviewing the national guard, accompanied by his three sons and some distinguished officers, when, as he passed through the Boulevard du Temple, something like a discharge of artillery took place from one of the neighbouring houses. Some distinguished officers, and a few of the most humble frequenters of the streets of Paris, were killed—Louis Philippe and his sons escaped. The chief author of this attempt was a fiendish creature named Fieschi, whose own head was so much injured by the explosion that the surgeons with difficulty kept him alive to stand his trial. His arrangement for his horrid purpose was a sort of battery of gun-

barrels, planted so as to be all fired at once. This attempt greatly raised the popularity of Louis Philippe; and other attacks made from time to time on his life had a similar effect. The wretched men who made the attempts always furnished good excuses for placing limitations on liberty; and the well-meaning part of the nation, however much inclined towards free institutions, admitted that the constant insurrections and projects of assassination made restraints necessary, and supported Louis Philippe in his government.

This system was greatly extolled both by a large party in France and by the more moderate politicians throughout Europe. The king was called the Napoleon of Peace; and the tranquillity of Europe was supposed to be so much at the mercy of his existence, that when he was in bad health the funds fell not only in Paris but in London. If he had died a month or so before the last revolution, he would have been called the wisest monarch of modern times, and people would have said that nothing of the kind could have happened while he was king.

Two statesmen of great abilities were in some measure rivals during this reign—Guizot and Thiers. For a short period Louis Philippe took advantage of the ministerial aid of both, but he found such a combination of talent too strong for him. It made him nothing in the government, and he wished to be everything. He resolved, then, only to work with one of them at a time. In 1840, Thiers succeeded Soult in the ministry. He had always been an admirer of the bold tactics of Napoleon, and desirous for war as the chief means of developing the glory and resources of France. There was no better road to popularity than the threat of war with England, and a son of Louis Philippe, who commanded in the navy, earned much favour by propounding a plan for falling upon and destroying the peaceful villages on the English coast. At this time there were real fears of a general war, as France had an important difference with Britain about the treatment of the Pasha of Egypt; but Louis Philippe took the matter into his own hands and preserved peace. Guizot then succeeded Thiers. Having, as he believed, firmly consolidated his throne in France, it became the object of the

king to draw the power of government more and more into his own hands, and to become more like the despotic rulers of Europe. With these he sought sedulously to ally his children. By old treaties, the crown of France and the crown of Spain were to be kept separate; but, in 1846, Louis Philippe developed a matrimonial plan which was designed to unite them in his own family. According to this arrangement, the Queen of Spain being so married as not to be likely to have children, his son, the Duke of Montpensier, was married to her sister, and thus Louis Philippe believed that his descendants must ultimately mount the throne of Spain. Much indignation was expressed at this proceeding by the English government, but subsequent events made it a matter of no moment. In this, however, the king overreached himself, for he lost that moral strength which he had always derived from his alliance with England.

3. THE SOCIALISTS AND REFORMERS.—A set of men called Socialists and Communists had been for some time forming a party whose design it was to change the whole order of civil society. The principle from which they started was, that the labouring classes should be taken in hand and provided for by the state, instead of working on the system of free labour for their own bread. They taught these doctrines very sedulously; and as there was something in them attractive to the idle and worthless, they had many followers. At the same time, the great extent of corruption in all the public departments, evinced by the trial of M. Teste, a peer and former minister, and the lavish expenditure of the government, created a party who were desirous of a moderate reform in the Chambers, chiefly by the extension of the suffrage. At this time the whole constituency of France numbered only 240,000 in a population of thirty-six millions, and offices were so multiplied that the government had in its pay a number of men greater than that of the entire body of electors. Of the 450 members composing the Chamber of Deputies, 204 were actually placemen and in the pay of government—thus making that house simply an instrument of the royal will. The peers, again, were not hereditary as with us, but named for life by the king; and they therefore were but another instru-

ment of the royal will. Thus the three estates of the realm were virtually merged in the cabinet, where the king's influence was supreme. The publication of Lamartine's *History of the Girondists* had shed a new lustre on the old revolutionists and revived the dormant embers of republicanism. A year of famine increased the general dissatisfaction; and several atrocious crimes (among others the tragic murder of the Duchess of Praslin) had shown that corruption flourished in high places.

Under these circumstances, Louis Philippe opened the parliamentary session at the close of 1847 by a speech in which he characterized the reformers as a "blind and hostile" faction,—an insult which added fresh fuel to the kindling flame. On the 17th of January 1848, a debate took place in the Chamber of Peers on the question of electoral reform. It was commenced by Count D'Alton Shee, and elicited an explanation from Count Duchatel, minister of the interior. He said, that being on the side of the majority of the Chamber, and therefore necessarily approving of the manner in which the electoral right had been used, he would not be for changing it, and undermining a system which worked so much to his satisfaction. A very damaging debate followed a few days afterwards in the Chamber of Deputies, in which M. Odillon Barrot narrated several instances of gross corruption in the sale of offices, which he said he was prepared to prove. Guizot made but a feeble defence, being unable utterly to deny the truth of the assertion, but maintaining that many of the matters were insignificant. A motion was proposed by M. Darblay, which would have inferred a severe censure on ministers, but it was lost by 225 to 146, and a medium resolution was adopted, which did not altogether acquit the government, and indeed took for granted that abuses had existed. This was almost immediately followed by an animated discussion of the paragraph in the address to the throne relative to that part of the speech which referred to reform and certain reform banquets which it was resolved to suppress. It was a scene of confusion, and many ominous sentences were uttered by the opposition. There was a general cry of—"This is Charles the Tenth over again;" and M. Odillon Barrot, turning to the ministers, said, "You are

worse than Polignac or Peyronnet." The ministerial members having impatiently stopped the opposition speakers, the latter refused to vote, and the paragraph was carried on a division by 223 to 18. On the 12th of February, an amendment was proposed by M. Sallandrouze calcolated to satisfy the moderate reformers. It did not condemn or support the banquets, but recommended that, among the various manifestations of public opinion, "government will distinguish the real and legitimate interests of the country. It will, we trust, assume the initiative of the wise and moderate reforms claimed by public opinion, among which parliamentary reform holds the first place. In a constitutional monarchy, the union of the great powers of the state enables the government to pursue without danger a policy of progress, and to satisfy all the moral and material interests of the country." After a hot debate this was lost by 222 to 189, and the question was ended so far as the legislature was concerned.

Next day a large meeting of opposition members took place, and it was resolved to bring the question to a point. In the twelfth arrondissement of Paris it had been intended to celebrate a reform banquet early in January; but the authorities threatening to prevent it, it was from time to time put off. The government came to a sort of understanding with the opposition that the banquet should not be put down; that it might take place, and then its legality should be tried in the courts of law. The form, however, in which the banquet was announced to be held defeated this arrangement. The promoters desired the attendance of the national guards in uniform, "for the purpose of defending liberty by joining the demonstration, and protecting order and preventing collision." The government held this to be an illegal convocation of a military force; and on Monday the 21st the fatal proclamation prohibiting the banquet was issued. It mentioned the agreement of the government to refer the legality of the banquet to a court of law, and then continued: "But after the manifesto published this morning, calling the public to a manifestation, convoking the national guards, and assigning them a place ranked by the legions and ranging them in line, a government is raised in opposition to the real government, usurps

the public power, and openly violates the charter. These are acts which the government cannot tolerate. In consequence, the banquet of the twelfth arrondissement cannot take place." At a meeting of the opposition deputies in the house of M. Odillon Barrot, it was resolved, on account of this proclamation, to abandon the banquet; and placards were posted on the walls announcing this determination. Little knots of people gathered round these placards, talking and gesticulating. They increased, and gradually filled the streets with an excited and tumultuous mob. Such was the appearance of matters on Tuesday. At the Chamber there was but a small meeting; and the Deputies were transacting some unimportant business as if there were no danger, when Odillon Barrot advanced to the tribune and presented seven articles of accusation against ministers. These referred to their foreign policy, and the corrupt practices alleged against them; while the sixth article charged them with "having violently despoiled the citizens of a right inherent to every free constitution, and the exercise of which had been guaranteed to them by the charter, by the laws, and by former precedents." The president, M. Sauzet, immediately dismissed the Chamber without a formal acceptance of the document.

4. THE OUTBREAK.—Meantime the excitement outside had increased. A large and furious mob had assembled ere evening, and they kept at work all night. Next morning the result of their exertions was seen in the erection of huge barricades across the entrances of the principal streets. Some small collisions took place, in which the mob gave way before the military. But the most alarming indication was, that the national guards showed extreme unwillingness to act against the people, and even interposed to prevent the municipal guard from attacking them. The Deputies met in the afternoon, and Guizot announced to them that the ministry had resigned. The news was received outside with loud shouts and congratulations; but it came too late to prevent the progress of the excitement once begun. Towards evening, large bands of men passed along the streets and Boulevards with blazing torches, singing an old Girondist song, which had taken a strong hold on the people, and was repeated by them in a sort of

epidemic frenzy. It began with the words *Mourir pour la patrie*, containing the sentiment that to die for one's country was the most enviable of all deaths. For months afterwards all Paris re-echoed with it, and in the theatres it was demanded over and over again till the singers were hoarse. Close on one of the Boulevards was Guizot's official residence, protected by a strong guard of soldiers. When the mob arrived there, it was evident, from their savage gestures and wild cries, that a spark only was necessary to inflame them to outrage. It is said that a man stepped forward from the crowd, discharged a pistol at the officer in command, and shot him dead. Thus the first blood was drawn. The guard immediately fired, and several of the mob were killed. They were placed on tumbrils or carts, and conveyed conspicuously through the torch-lighted streets. It has been asserted that this was the result of a plot formed by one Lagrange; that it was he who fired the pistol for the purpose of forcing on a revolution; and that he had the tumbrils ready in an adjoining street for carrying away the bodies—but in the confusion of such events it is not easy to get at the truth.

During the night the barricades were increased and strengthened. Next morning the streets were crowded with armed men. The national guards had given way to the movement. But what was still more serious, no one would take the responsibility of leading the soldiers to put down the mob. In the Palais Royal only was there any formidable resistance. There some troops of the line kept up a hot and fatal fire from the windows of a guardhouse. The mob, however, were determined to carry the place by their fury and their numbers; and they received important auxiliaries in a body of the national guards, who came and laid siege to the place defended by their brother soldiers as earnestly and energetically as if they had been foreign enemies. In the space below a large fire was made, fed in some measure by the royal carriages, which were broken up and thrown into it. Screened by the flame and smoke, the besiegers fired at the windows, and after two hours' hard fighting, and the almost total destruction of its defenders, the building was taken by storm. This might be said to be the only contest during the revolution. The

Duke of Nemours commanded a large force at the Tuileries ; and there is no reason to suppose that it would not have acted, but a sort of stupor seemed to seize those in command, and the mob were not interrupted when they ransacked the palace.

It is now necessary to record what was going on in other places. Count Molé had been employed to form a new ministry, but this he found impossible. A further concession to public opinion was now resolved on, and a ministry was selected from the left or democratic side of the house. On the night of the 23d, Thiers was sent for, and he and Odillon Barrot agreed to form a cabinet. They immediately issued a placard, saying : " Citizens,—Orders are given to stop the firing. We have been charged by the king with the formation of a ministry. The Chamber is about to be dissolved. General Lamoricière is appointed to command the national guards of Paris. Messieurs Odillon Barrot, Thiers, Lamoricière, and Duvergier de Hauranne are ministers. Liberty, order, union, reform." This placard, signed by Barrot and Thiers, was rapidly posted up through the streets—but this concession also was too late : the people tore down the placard which the day before would have satisfied them. It was now evident that they were in the hands of the bitterest enemies of the monarchy. M. Emile de Girardin, whose position as editor of a popular newspaper enabled him to know the feelings of the people, hastened to the palace, and urged the king, as he was the great object of offence, to abdicate the crown in favour of his infant grandson. Whether the dynasty would have been saved had this advice been taken early in the day, may be a question. The king's advisers sat in frightened consultation. A tumultuous meeting of the Chamber of Deputies was held. About one o'clock in the afternoon the king had made up his mind to abdicate, and a proclamation was issued to this effect : " Citizens of Paris,—The king has abdicated. The crown bestowed by the revolution of July is now placed on the head of a child protected by his mother. They are both under the safeguard of the honour and courage of the Parisian population. All cause of division among us has ceased to exist. Orders have been given to the troops of the line to return to their



respective quarters. Our brave army can be better employed than in shedding its blood in so deplorable a collision." By this time many sinister-looking strangers had entered the room, and when the terms of the abdication had been announced, an ominous voice from one of them shouted, "It is too late." The position of the royal family had of course become one of intense anxiety; for with a wild ferocious populace roaring around them, they could not help remembering the Duchess of Lamballe and the other horrors of the first revolution. The Duchess of Orleans resolved to go to the Chamber of Deputies with her young son, partly to introduce him to the legislature as their king, partly for protection. She was accompanied by her brothers-in-law the Dukes of Nemours and Montpensier, and protected by some national guards. This interesting group seated themselves in silence beneath the tribune, and it was now the object of those who had constituted the liberal opposition in the house to treat the abdication and the accession of the young prince as a settled affair. The few socialists and extreme republicans in the Chamber, however, now felt their strength, for ferocious men with arms in their hands were pouring into the room and clamouring down every sentiment they disapproved of. Ledru Rollin, who was the evil genius of this revolution, denounced the compact with royalty, and shouted out that the people had borne the brunt of the fight, and for the people should be the victory.

5. LAMARTINE.—There was another individual then present of higher intellect and motives, who might perhaps have exercised a great influence in checking extreme measures—this was Lamartine. He was a man of fine but somewhat wayward genius, whose politics were founded rather on sentiment than fixed principle. His leanings had been aristocratic, but they had of late rather connected themselves with socialism and republicanism. He states, that just before this memorable sitting of the Chamber he had been appealed to by a portion of the violent republicans, who wished him to head a movement for the abolition of monarchy, but that he said he would not pull down the throne, although if it were pulled down he would not help to re-erect it. As he looked on the wild

scene which was going on in the Chamber, a royalist deputy stepped up to him, and observing that he alone could stem the torrent, requested him to speak and use his influence. His answer, pointing to the royal group, was, "While that woman and that child are there I am silent." Thus the resolution not to aid in the defence of royalty was not confined to the violent republicans. The duchess and her child were not long there. The mob rushed in more clamorous and fierce, and for the sake of their safety it was necessary that they should escape by a side-door.

The duchess showed more courage and determination on the occasion than almost any other member of the royal family. The others meanwhile fled precipitately. Louis Philippe, who had preserved nerve and coolness during the most trying ordeals to which human beings can be subjected, seemed now at once to be overcome by feebleness and fear. He was no longer himself; anxious only to preserve the unhonoured fragment of a life which no one seriously menaced, he fled not only without making any attempt to restore order, or leaving any instructions behind him, but without any arrangement for a journey. He was totally penniless; and to save him from the inconveniences and difficulties to which he must thus have been subjected, the officers of a cavalry regiment subscribed for him 2000 francs, or £80. He fled first in the direction of St Cloud; but he was soon lost sight of, for he pursued his journey with intense secrecy, disguising himself by shaving off his bushy whiskers, and putting on an old wig. After undergoing extreme hardships, which appear to have been unnecessary, he landed at Newhaven, on the coast of England, on the 3d of March, under the name of William Smith. England owed him few obligations for his later conduct; but it was remembered that he had long preserved the peace of Europe, that he had generally respected the British character, and, above all, that he was unfortunate and powerless. He was therefore received with decorous and respectful consideration, and until his death, which occurred on the 26th August 1850, he lived in retirement at Claremont. The other members of the royal family fled in the same nervous haste, without, it is believed, being in any real danger. Their flight was so hasty that the

mob entered their drawing-rooms and bedrooms, not even in the state in which they would have been left had their inmates gone out to a walk, but just as they were occupied. Some of the sights thus witnessed were very touching. The children's toys were lying on the floor where they had been playing at soldiers. The mob might see that royal personages had hearts as well as themselves, for among other things which they particularly noticed were the hat and sword of an old favourite of their own, the Duke of Orleans, the king's eldest son, who had died by accident in 1842: his widow had preserved these relics under a glass-case. The better parts of the French character were shown throughout all this part of the revolution. Private property was generally respected; and the mob gazed at the jewels and valuables of all kinds in the magnificent rooms through which they passed without pillaging anything. There were many instances in which attempts at theft were suppressed by those who, though of the humblest ranks, were taking an active part in the revolution; and even those who were most deeply injured by it, confessed that their personal property was preserved with extraordinary attention. At the same time it must be observed that their lives appear to have been safe. There had been no bloodshed yet except in open fighting, and even the deaths in this shape had been few comparatively with those occasioned by Parisian revolutions: it has been maintained that not 600 were killed. This would be thought a large number in our country, where great changes are produced without the loss of a single life; but it is otherwise in France.

Such were the events in the royal family and among the mob on that celebrated afternoon of the 24th of February. In the Chamber the crowd of invaders was becoming more and more formidable. It is reported that those who went there accidentally were quiet and passive, somewhat overawed in finding themselves so suddenly in the place occupied by the first men of their country. The clever newspaper editors, however, who were at the head of the revolt, and especially Marrast, the editor of the *National*, are said to have had men prepared to take more decisive steps, conscious that the mob, though it might not move on in front,

would follow. It is affirmed that many of the fierce men who came in with muskets and pikes were thus instructed how to act. But it should be remembered that in such confused and outrageous proceedings, it is difficult to get a true account of all that was public and visible, and therefore it is still more difficult to get an accurate account of things done in secret—such as the arrangements made for bringing forward these ruffians. After the Duchéss of Orleans had fled, M. Sauzet, the president of the Chamber, disappeared, followed by a large number of the members. Here was shown, as in the Council of Five Hundred when they were attacked by Napoleon, the moral weakness of the French. They fight bravely, and are generous and high-minded in masses, but they want the moral courage which makes men keep to their duty, however many enemies and however few supporters they may have. Lamartine was now the lord of the ascendant. He was trusted by the republicans, and respected by the higher classes for his genius and scholarship. He moved that M. Dupont de l'Eure should take the chair, vacant by the flight of the president. There was now a cry that a provisional government should be created—that is, a government to keep the country in order until a new constitution or permanent government should be established. In this Lamartine, who had a flowery eloquence which suited such an occasion, joined, saying, "In the name of the blood which is flowing, in the name of peace, in the name of the people exhausted by their glorious three days' labours—I demand a provisional government." A general cry arose of "Name them, name them." To read a list of names in such a confusion was a mere form; but it is said that the names of a provisional government, selected in the office of the *National*, were exhibited on a placard stuck on the point of a bayonet.

6. THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.—Those who were masters for the moment of the wild assemblage in the Chamber of Deputies did not know how long they might remain so, and they wisely proposed to remove to some quiet place where they might act as a government. They chose the old scene of the revolutionary movements, the Hotel de Ville, or city-hall. While, however, those assembled in the Chamber of Deputies had their provisional government, other mobs

elsewhere had theirs. While one list was prepared at the office of the *National*, another was prepared at that of the *Réforme*. When Lamartine and his friends reached the little room in the city-hall in which they proposed to transact the business of the French nation, they found it already occupied by Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc, and M. Albert. When they asked these gentlemen who they were, and what was their business, they replied they were a provisional government chosen by some democratic society. Lamartine, who tells the story himself, said his own friends had some difficulty in establishing a better claim to govern, for he adds, "If we ourselves had been asked who appointed *us*, we might have answered that we were appointed in the Chamber of Deputies, but certainly not *by* the Chamber. Our only origin was a popular acclamation, and *they* claimed the same title. So we took them as secretaries, and afterwards as colleagues." Outside of the city-hall clustered the fierce crowd, cramming every inch of room in the vacant spaces. There was no outrage, but a dreadful lull such as that which presages a popular hurricane if something do not happen to avert it. The gentlemen inside hastened their labours, and at last sent out the result to be proclaimed to the mob. The task fell on Louis Blanc, who was so small that he required to be mounted on the shoulders of two men to accomplish his mission. His appearance was said to have had a quieting effect for the time, for the socialists who were acquainted with his person augured a great progress to their own cause from his having been thus deputed; and those of the mob who did not know him were good-naturedly amused by his dwarfish and boyish appearance, as a contrast to the tremendous importance of the news he had to announce. It was the creation of a republic, and the constitution of a provisional government. The announcement was received with wild and furious delight, and the many thousands of armed men who were congregated before the city-hall are said to have danced and howled like so many American Indians in their war-dances. The list of the provisional government, as subsequently modified, contained the names of Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Crémieux, Ledru Rollin, Garnier Pagés, Arago, Armand Marrast, Ferdinand Flocon, Albert, and

Louis Blanc. These all filled separate departments in the state; but it is unnecessary to mention each one's office, as they were but a short time in power, and during that brief space had more to do in the general task of ruling the country than in the details of their particular duties. Lamartine was looked upon for some time as in a manner the dictator of France. There were other eminent men appointed along with him—such as M. Arago, a scientific philosopher of great eminence all over Europe, and at that time far advanced in years. But still Lamartine was the person chiefly looked up to, for he had not only the most eminent name in literature, but he had a wonderfully persuasive popular eloquence, by which he allayed, more easily than any other man of the day, the fury of the Parisian mob. For instance, on one occasion, when there was a proposal to substitute the red ensign, which had been that of the anarchists of the old revolution, for the tricolor, he defended the tricolor because it had accompanied the triumphal armies of France over all the continent of Europe, while the red had been known only in domestic calamities—there could be nothing better calculated to catch the spirit of a Paris audience. There were several men extremely unfit to govern among those who by such a strange series of chances were raised to the highest places in a great nation. Among others there was one Albert, who called himself an *ouvrier*, or workman, though he was a newspaper writer by profession. But the great calamity of this nomination of a provisional government was, that Ledru Rollin held the important office of minister of the interior, equivalent to that of our home-secretary, but of course of far more importance at such a crisis. He used his authority for the purpose of increasing anarchy, and the despotic power of the knot of conspirators and their followers the mob of Paris. It will be observed that hitherto almost everything had been done in Paris, the rest of the country quietly acquiescing in every change.

7. THE SOCIALISTS.—Louis Blanc was for some time a very conspicuous member of the government. In fact he, with Ledru Rollin and the others who were not merely republicans but favourers of the communist system, were continually opposed to the other members, who sought to

govern the country on principles of constitutional liberty, without establishing a central despotism to rule everything. Louis Blanc and his friends were able in the first hasty acts of the provisional government to make promises which afterwards had a most dangerous effect, by infusing false hopes into the working-classes. In fact, they were told that they were now no longer to depend on themselves, for the government would look after and provide for them all alike. If this was unpromising to the able and energetic workmen, it was good news to the idle and vicious, since they would be as well off as their more capable neighbours. A commission was established at the Luxembourg which was to organize the labour of the country; and it was expected that before it had done, every carpenter, smith, baker, brewer, tailor, and shoemaker, in fact every person of every trade and occupation, would be under government regulation. In the national workshops which were thus established, two francs a-day were given to all comers; and it was soon found that the multitudes who came forward thus to idle their time were so enormous, that in the end they might calculate on having nine-tenths of the people of France in this condition. In fact, trade was for the time prostrated. People who had money hid it; equipages and luxuries of all kinds, the chief dependence of the Parisian tradespeople, were given up. The British aristocracy, who contributed greatly to the subsistence of this class, left Paris in large numbers. Thus the shops and the manufactories were closed, and people had no other resource but the national workshops. Then came the serious question, where the money to pay all these workmen was to come from? The socialists maintained that men employed on their system would work with so much zeal as to become far more productive than ordinary workmen. To test this an experiment was tried. New uniforms were wanted for the national guards. An estimate was made of the price at which a master tailor would produce them, paying his men good wages of from two to four or five francs, according to their capacity, and realizing a profit to himself. But, instead of contracting with such a person, the government gave the work to 1500 tailors assembled in the Hotel Clichy. They were to receive the same price as the master tailor would charge, and the pro-

ceeds were to be divided equally among them. In the meantime they were allowed two francs a-day to live on while they worked. In the end it came out, that the same price at which the master tailor could have produced the uniforms, paying his workmen well and deriving a profit, would not pay these men their two francs each. The reason was, because the good workmen, since the others were to share in the reward of their industry, would not exert themselves.

The streets of Paris in the meantime presented a strange mixture of excitement and desolation. Clubs, where furious debates were carried on, were kept open nearly all the night, and processions of working-men were continually pouring in one direction or another with some vague object in view. A great fear was at first entertained throughout Europe, that a warlike and aggressive spirit, such as that of 1793, would spring up, but nothing of the kind appeared, and it was believed that this was owing to other nations having let France alone. Meanwhile the provisional government had hard work on its hands. A new constitution had to be framed for the legislature, and the country had to be immediately divided into electoral districts. There was to be a house of representatives, but no higher legislative body. All Frenchmen above twenty-one years of age were to have the franchise, and all above twenty-five to be eligible. The election was first fixed at so early a day as the 9th April, but it was subsequently postponed to the 23d. The extreme party, who began to get the title of Red Republicans, from using the old red cap of liberty as their badge, desired the election to be still farther deferred. They were conscious that the mass of the people was against them, and they expected to be able, if they were allowed time, to use influence and coercion in favour of their own sentiments. Commissioners were sent down to the provinces to conduct the business of the elections, and to these M. Ledru Rollin, as minister of the interior, issued a circular which produced a lively alarm. It informed the commissioners that their powers were unlimited, urging them to employ them in the furtherance of revolutionary principles. It was evident from the tone of the document that it was its author's desire to tyrannize over the provinces as the Convention had done in the reign of



terror. M. Carnot, at the same time, recommended the people not to choose as their representatives men of education and wealth, but people of inferior station, who would be glad of the twenty-five francs a-day to be allotted to each member, and would act as the proper leaders in the Assembly might enjoin. The object of this was to procure an ignorant and submissive Assembly, where the red republicans might be supreme. Fortunately, however, all these incitements were in vain. Though chosen by universal suffrage, the Assembly contained an overwhelming majority of supporters of moderate measures. The red republicans would have had recourse to violence to prevent it from meeting; but they found that the troops, and especially the national guards, along with a new civic force, the *garde mobile*, were against them. Yet the Assembly was enthusiastically in favour of the existing republic, which it proclaimed in the open air before the national guards and a vast concourse of people. An executive council was appointed to nominate the ministers. It consisted of Arago, Garnier Pagés, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru Rollin. The last had the smallest number of votes, and his influence was fast waning.

The Assembly refused to yield so far to the socialists as to appoint a minister of labour, and began to discourage the public workshops. On the 15th of May, a mob, chiefly consisting of the men who had been in the workshops, attacked the Assembly, under pretence of presenting a petition in favour of the Poles. The majority of the members were driven out; but Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc, with others of their party, waited, and alternately caressed and reproved the mob. One of their leaders, M. Hubert, then rose, and cried out—"Citizens, I proclaim, in the name of the sovereign people of France, that the National Assembly is dissolved." In the meantime, however, Garnier Pagés and Arago, engaged in business at the Luxembourg, hearing that the Assembly was attacked, ordered the national guard to march to its protection. The willingness with which they obeyed was the more important, as their commander, General Courtais, favoured the insurgents. Under the command of M. Clement Thomas, they soon cleared the Assembly-hall. The insurgents, however, proceeded instantly to the old scene of conspiracies, the Hotel de Ville, and, bursting open the

doors, entered with an accompanying mob, and proclaimed a provisional government, to consist of the most dangerous men in France: Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert the so-called workman, Caussidière, Sobrier, Hubert, Thoré, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, Cabet, Raspail, and Blanqui. At length Lamartine arrived with a strong body of national guards, who arrested Barbés, Albert, and others, in the midst of their labours as they were constructing their new government, and preparing proclamations. The leaders of the movement were thrown into prison. Louis Blanc denied any participation in it; but his denial was received by the Assembly with much derision, and he was driven from the tribune. Soon after these events the Assembly proceeded to frame a constitution, and it was fixed that the chief government should be vested in a president of the republic chosen for four years by universal suffrage. The president has the power of naming his own ministers, and a vice-president is chosen by the Assembly.

8. THE BATTLE OF PARIS.—There were some minor discussions in the Assembly, but nothing of importance took place, until, in June, M. Leon Faucher called attention to a fact which had already begun to appal many of the most resolute republicans. This was the increase of the number of men in the national workshops, which had rapidly gone on from 13,000 to 120,000. On the 22d June, an order was issued that 3000 of those who had come from a distance should return to their homes. A deputation from these men asked an interview with the executive committee; and having obtained it, marched through the streets in a disorderly manner, crying "Down with the executive." A riotous mob collected, which alarmed the peaceful citizens; but this was only a slight outward manifestation of what was going on. A deep conspiracy had been planned against the Assembly, and now it was to be put in execution. The government was thoughtlessly if not culpably lax, but the national guards assembled. About nine o'clock on the 23d of June, formidable barricades began to be erected, and other measures were resorted to by the mob which showed that they had able and diligent advisers. The windows of many houses were barricaded or protected by mattresses and pillows, with loopholes sufficient for firing through; and passages of commu-

nication were made through the partitions of the houses, so that when one was entered its occupants passed to the next. Attacks were made on the barricades with cannon, but when darkness came little impression had been made on them. All night long the insurgents were busy, and the dawn showed the terrified citizens that it was to no small effect. Never on any other occasion had the barricade system been so completely and scientifically applied. From the island in the Seine as a central point, it spread on each side in a line of strong fortifications, embracing a great part of the city. It was now no longer an insurrection but a civil war. Early in the day the executive committee resigned its functions, which were conferred on General Cavaignac, a distinguished officer of republican principles, who thus became dictator of France. All that day and the next, which was Sunday, one of the most bloody sieges recorded in history went on. It was rendered memorable by many remarkable deaths, and especially that of the Archbishop of Paris, who went forth in his sacerdotal robes, and was shot while imploring the rebels to desist. The means of conducting the siege were necessarily of a very destructive kind. Not only were the barriers battered down, but the adjoining houses were reduced to ruins. On the 26th, the line of defence was much narrowed, and in the end the Faubourg St Antoine, the last point which held out, capitulated. After four dreadful days, during which the roar of battle was almost continuous, Paris once more became tranquil. The slaughter was enormous, and the gutters ran deep with blood; but it seems never to have been precisely ascertained how many thousand persons were killed. Among the victims were many of the provincial national guards, who, hearing of the public danger, had rushed to the rescue, although they knew they were rushing into the jaws of death. The next operation was the disarming of the dangerous classes in Paris, and the trial and punishment of the chief offenders. Among these were counted Louis Blanc and Caussidière; but they fled, and the former took refuge in Britain.

**THE PRESIDENCY—LOUIS NAPOLEON.**—The Assembly, relieved of its dangers, proceeded to the framing of the details of the republican constitution. The 10th of December was fixed on for the election of the president of the

republic. It was thought that a person who had performed such services as Cavaignac would have an unquestionable claim to this dignity; but the French wished to have their republic adorned by a showy royal name, and it was soon apparent that the popular choice ran in favour of Prince Louis Napoleon, nephew of the emperor, and son of the King of Holland. He had nearly five millions and a half of votes, while Cavaignac had less than a million and a half. Lamartine and Ledru Rollin, who were also candidates, received very trifling support.

The world in general had but a poor opinion of the abilities of this prince, who, at Strasbourg in 1836 and at Boulogne in 1840, had shown neither firmness nor good sense; but all moderate and conscientious men agreed to give his government a fair trial. Thus it has been a pretty firm one, though there is no avoiding the belief, that the various parties who have supported him—the republicans, the legitimists, and the Orleanists—only do so for protection from each other, and that if ever one of them becomes strong enough it will endeavour to pull his government down. In the spring of 1850 some alarm was felt by the return of a socialist—Eugene Sue, the great novelist—as a representative of Paris, and the opportunity was seized of restricting the franchise and destroying the liberty of the press. The danger arising from the unpopularity of such measures was, singularly enough, neutralized by a slight quarrel with Britain, which held forth the possibility of a war. It was caused, however, by mere accidental circumstances relating to a question with the Greek government, and in a short time the good understanding of the two powers was restored. In the ensuing summer there were sinister rumours, apparently not unfounded, that the president desired, by one of those bold strokes by which his uncle had raised himself, to become King of France. The republicans and the supporters of the Bourbons were both ready to take advantage of such an attempt to strike a blow for their own party. In the month of August, however, the president made a political progress through France, and in great meetings at Lyons and Strasbourg, as well as on other occasions, repudiated any designs against the republican constitution.

## EXERCISES.

1. What title was taken by the new king? What was he popularly called? Describe the political arrangements made at the commencement of his reign. What eminent political men aided the new government? Give an account of the difficulties it had to encounter. What was the effect of the trial of the late ministers? What took place at the funeral of General Lamarque? What occurred in connexion with the city of Lyons? What occurred in La Vendée?

2. Describe a tragic event which occurred in 1835. What was its effect? Describe the influence exercised by Louis Philippe over the peace of Europe. Who were the great rival statesmen of the period? What ideas did Thiers nourish? How did Louis Philippe preserve peace? What ambitious designs did he entertain?

3. Give an account of the socialists and communists, and the views they entertained. What created a party in favour of reform? What debates took place in the legislature? What public manifestations were the government resolved to suppress? Describe what was done by both parties as to the projected banquet in Paris. What was taking place in the streets? What took place among the deputies?

4. How were the mob occupied in the night? What announcement was made by Guizot? What was its effect? What song was repeated by the people? Describe the circumstances under which the first blood was drawn. Give an account of the further progress of the conflict. What second concession was made? How was it received? What advice was given to Louis Philippe? How did he act on it? How was his abdication received? Describe the scene between the Duchess of Orleans and the Chamber of Deputies.

5. Give an account of Lamartine. What influence was he supposed to possess? What occurred from its not being exercised? Give an account of the flight of Louis Philippe and his family. Describe the scene arising from the hastiness of their flight. What has been generally observed as to the conduct of the mob on this occasion? Describe the events which occurred in the Chamber of Deputies after the flight of the Duchess of Orleans.

6. Describe the scene which took place in the city-hall, and the way in which the provisional government was formed. What was the state of matters outside? In what manner was the republic proclaimed? How was it received? Who were named members of the provisional government? Mention some of the characteristics of the chief members.

7. What were the views and objects of Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin, and their associates? What commission was established in the Luxembourg? What were the national workshops? How were trade and the position of the working-classes affected? Describe the attempt made to exemplify the organization of labour, and its effect. What new constitution was adopted? What attempts were made to influence the country? What was the result of the elections? What council was appointed? Give an account of an attempt made to upset the government.

8. What proceedings were adopted as to the national workshops? Give an account of the insurrection which took place in June. How was the power of the government transferred during this event? What immediately followed the suppression of the outbreak? What took place as to the election of a president of the republic? Who was Louis Napoleon? Give an account of the subsequent state of matters in France down to the middle of the century.

## CHAPTER XXI.

INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS OF FRANCE FROM THE REIGN  
OF FRANCIS I., A. D. 1515.

1. BY French critics and historians the sixteenth century has usually been called the age of the *Renaissance* or Revival; not because literature and art then first emerged from the darkness of the Middle Ages, but because of the general return to the study of Greek and Roman learning. Art then ceased for a while to be Christian and national, and became pagan: the form was more carefully studied than the substance; and, to adopt a modern nomenclature, sensualism succeeded to spiritualism.

Villon was the creator of modern French poetry; and although he had not imagined all its harmonious prosody, he was the first to understand and to teach the exactness and richness of its rhyme. Clement Marot, "the prince of poets and the poet of princes," the friend of Margaret of Navarre and of Francis I., translated the Psalms into French verse, and composed with unusual grace and facility numerous ballads, rondos, and other fugitive pieces. Ronsard belonged to a school opposed to that of Marot, for even at this early date we find two poetical systems, two literary flags. The poetry which still clung fondly to the chivalrous traditions of the preceding century, to the Romance of the Rose, to the troubadours and popular ballads, became the object of the hostility and contempt of the new school, which affected an exact imitation of the masterpieces of Athens and Rome. Ronsard led the attack. His renown was European: he was protected by the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, courted by Charles IX., by the queen-mother, and by the Cardinal Duperron; Elizabeth of England sent him a diamond ring; Tasso was proud of being presented to him; and statues of marble were erected to him during his life. This reputation, however, faded away before the close of the century,

when men of greater power, as Malherbe and Corneille, entered the lists, and his school sank in Scuderi and Benserade. Guillaume Salluste, better known by his seignorial title of Du Bartas, enjoyed a well merited reputation; and most of the verses in the famous Menippean Satire were composed by Jean Passerat.—The Dramatic art had made some progress: the suppressed *Mysteries* were replaced by *Moralities*; Ronsard translated the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, which was represented with great success; and later still, the Italian theatre gave a new form to the scenic art. All, however, was very rude and very immoral at the time when Shakspeare was writing his matchless tragedies and fixing the standard of the British drama.

The prose writers of the sixteenth century have left more durable monuments: at their head may be placed Margaret of France, queen of Navarre and sister of Francis I., who wrote the *Heptameron*, seventy-two tales of an equivocal character, in imitation of the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. To this period also belong the witty, satirical, and immoral Rabelais; Montaigne, whose *Essays*, a compound of the sceptical and epicurean philosophy, are the most celebrated productions of this century; Pierre Charron, a follower of Montaigne, whose book on *Wisdom* was censured by the Sorbonne, the university, and the parliament; and Amyot, the translator of Plutarch, whose style, though now antiquated, abounds in a child-like simplicity that still charms the young reader.

Architecture and sculpture reverted, like the literature of France, to pagan recollections. When art awoke under Francis I. from its oblivious sleep, which may date from the madness of Charles VI., the invasion of Italian taste was complete. Under the artists trained in the schools of the Medici, whom the king invited into France, art assumed that sensual and material expression which it has never entirely thrown off. The spirit that produced the Gothic architecture of an early age was dead; the remains of Grecian and Roman architecture were the sole models of imitation, and the pagan mythology was ransacked for allegorical subjects with which to decorate the palaces of Fontainebleau, Saint-Germain, Chambord, and the Louvre.

2. The narrow limits of this volume necessarily confine

us to a rough sketch of the artistic, scientific, and literary history of the reign of Louis XIV.,—the most remarkable in the annals of France. If we consider the multiplicity of works and pursuits, it far surpasses the justly celebrated Augustan and Medicean periods. Louis XIV. by his magnificence and taste for the arts opened a wide career to talent of every kind: he left no essays unrewarded; and as men of genius, with a few rare exceptions, consented to become the flatterers of his glory, he employed that same glory to protect and foster their conceptions. In the sphere of science and the useful arts, Riquet dug the canal of Languedoc, and united the Mediterranean with the Atlantic at the foot of the Pyrenees; Tournefort and Jussieu enriched botany with numerous valuable discoveries; Descartes, Pascal, the two Bernouillis, and L'Hôpital, enlarged the domain of mathematical science; Samson and De Lisle created geography; Cassini gave a new impulse to astronomical inquiries; Bernier, Vaillant, Chardin, and Bochart, devoted themselves to learned investigations which have greatly facilitated the labours of their successors.—In another sphere of knowledge, Mascaron, Bourdaloue, and Massillon, announced with stately and unrivalled eloquence the eternal truths of Christianity; Bossuet attacked with consummate skill the weak points of our protestant faith, and traced the secret influences of history; Fénelon taught both kings and people how states are made to flourish or decay—a lesson which lost him the favour of the court; Fléchier, by his writings and by his eloquence, added his name to this illustrious line; La Rochefoucauld wrote his book of *Maxims*; La Bruyère sketched his *Characters*; Arnauld, named by contemporaries “the great Arnauld,” vainly defended Jansenism with his invincible and unwearied pen. Less known by her own age, but more appreciated by ours, Madame Sevigné wrote those inimitable letters which are the most faithful picture of the court of Louis XIV.; Voiture, Balzac, Mademoiselle de la Fayette, Perrault, Saint Evremond, Hamilton, La Motte-Houdart, Dubos, Mongault, and Fontenelle, contributed with various degrees of merit in increasing the literary brilliancy of this era.—Corneille, justly styled “the great,” and whose renown stirred up the jealous envy of Richelieu, created French tragedy; but his manly



antique genius was fettered by the narrow limits assigned him by the false taste of the age. He wrote *Polyeucte*, and this masterpiece would have remained without a rival had not Racine, his worthy competitor, given *Athalie* to the French drama. Racine is as far superior to Corneille in expression and sentiment, as he falls below him in energy and inspiration. Molière in his Comedies held up to the ridicule of the mocking crowd the vices and eccentricities of the day. Jean Baptiste Rousseau earned a fleeting reputation in lyric poetry, which the cold and regular La Motte vainly attempted to surpass. Boileau purified the taste of his age, and laid down rules for genius which succeeding writers have found too narrow. La Fontaine produced those exquisite fables which unite the highest literary polish with the simplicity of earlier times.—History was written in an uninquiring manner: investigation was deemed of far less consequence than elegance of style. Bossuet, in his *Discourse on Universal History*, opened up a new vein which no one cared to explore: among contemporary writers it will be sufficient to name Mézeray, Vertot, Rapin, Petau, Moreri, Du Cange, D'Herbelot, Mabillon, and Montfaucon. Mental philosophy was studied by Pascal, Descartes, and Malebranche, to whom may be added Gassendi, Huet, and Saint Pierre. Classical learning was worthily represented by Salmasius, once the antagonist of Milton, Rapin, Menage, the two Daciers, and Brumoy.—Painting, statuary, and architecture contributed worthily to the splendour of this great age. Lesueur, Poussin, Lebrun, and Mignard, gave to the French school of painting that high reputation which modern artists have failed to surpass. Puget, Girardon, and Coysevox, breathed life into the marble block; Mansard and Claude Perrault adopted a magnificent style of architecture little in accordance with the wants of the age; Le Nostre created the art of decorative gardening; Callot, Nanteuil, and Audran, were celebrated for their skill in engraving; and Lulli extended the empire of harmony, opening new roads to the rising music of France.

3. During the reign of Louis XV., literature became the pander to vice of every kind; and the arts of painting and sculpture shared in the general corruption. A torrent of irreligion flooded the country, sapping all virtue both pub-

lic and private. Montesquieu, the celebrated author of the *Esprit des Lois*, in 1721, published a tale which called in question the holiest truths of religion and order; Bayle had previously cleared the way by his daring scepticism on some of the then most generally received questions of faith, morals, and history; Helvetius was drawing up his wearisome atheistical treatises; and Baron d'Holbach devoting his large fortune to the support of those whose attacks upon God and the throne would not have furnished them with bread. Voltaire, who had just been liberated from the Bastille, united with Diderot and others in bringing out or defending the *Encyclopædia*, a confused repertory in which, under the pretence of marking the progress made in the arts and sciences, religion and philosophy, a combined attack was carried on against all that Christian men held sacred. It may be true that their censures were mainly directed against the form of Christianity professed in France, and the unworthy lives of its ministers; but it is not the less certain that they omitted no opportunity of ridiculing the Holy Scriptures, and all who built their hopes of life and death upon their saving doctrines. Voltaire maintained his sad supremacy at the head of this unbelieving school for nearly sixty years. J. J. Rousseau, a man of greater genius and more lasting influence, made his deism a subject of solemn congratulation; undermined the purity of domestic life by a tale which he himself avowed must be fatal to the virtue of every young woman that might read it; assailed the foundations of society in his *Social Contract*; and in his *Confessions* unblushingly held up for the admiration of the world a life of outrageous vanity, turpitude, and criminal meanness. The other supporters of this irreligious school were D'Alembert, a learned geometer; Marmontel, a pleasing but unimaginative tale-writer; Condorcet, a philosopher desirous of putting in practice the theories which proved his ruin; while others of less note were not less eager in propagating the doctrines of the *Encyclopædists*. Montgolfier invented the balloon, and the imagination ran wild in its chimerical application of the newly discovered art of sailing through the air; then inoculation, vaccination, and the lightning-conductor, though not of French origin, added each day to the conquests of the human mind. At

the same time Mesmer and Cagliostro duped by their magnetic juggles the people who boasted of being the most enlightened in the world. On the other hand, there were patient and learned investigators into nature's secrets, Jussieu, Réaumur, Cassini, La Caille, De Lisle, who widened the boundaries of science, and are still the pride of their country. Fréron lashed the errors of the philosophic school; Gilbert satirized them with a caustic pen; Buffon studied and described in his magic style the mysteries of the animated world; Boulainvilliers, Rollin, and Fleury, analyzed the secrets of history.

A false eloquence and monotonous affectation of sensibility, first adopted by Thomas and Diderot, in a few years corrupted both style and taste. Immorality was at its height, and those who protested against their age had no other refuge than the hospital or the scaffold reserved for André Chénier. Gilbert expired on a heap of straw, bequeathing to the world that sublime elegy which will find an echo in the human heart so long as it continues to throb at the tale of sorrow and of virtue; Malfilâtre met with no better fate; and yet the courtly insipidities of Dorat and Demoustier were in every mouth.

4. The representation of Beaumarchais' comedy, *Le Mariage de Figaro*, was an epoch as well in literature as in politics: it was an indication that in both worlds a crisis was at hand. The writers of the revolutionary period are few and of no great merit. They were Lebrun, a very feeble "Pindar," as his friends delighted to call him; La Harpe, a frigid dramatist, though not devoid of skill as a critic; and André Chenier, whose untimely fate robbed France of one of her most promising men of genius. The circumstances of the time called up a new class of literature, then unknown in France: the passionate struggles of parties often found vent in most remarkable oratorical displays. Mirabeau, the genius of political tempests, held peace or war in the folds of his mantle: his polished rival, the Abbé Maury; the lucid and copious Cazalès; the systematic yet crotchety Sieyes; the winning and enthusiastic Barnave; the impassioned Vergniaud; the brilliant Gaudet; the colossal Danton; the fanatic Saint Just; and, lastly, Robespierre, who failed not to sway even a hostile assembly,—were the

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leading politicians and orators of the republican period. The theatre was supported almost alone by the genius of Talma; painting was represented by David, Gerard, and Girodet; and sculpture by the graceful mannerisms of Houdon.

5. During the empire, the din of arms overpowered the gentle voices of the Muses. Delille, the poet of the *Gardens*, and Ducis, the translator of *Hamlet*, were legacies of the eighteenth century; Fontanes composed elegies and didactic poems with remarkable elegance; Andrieux still pleases by his simple good-natured stories; Millevoye, although young, gave token in several fugitive pieces of a vein of true poetry; N. Lemercier, in his drama of *Pinto*, boldly defied the ancient Aristotelian school,—an unsuccessful attempt to found a new school before the age was ripe for it. The prose writers form a more numerous body: Bernardin de St Pierre, the author of *Paul and Virginia*, and the rival of J. J. Rousseau; the two Lacretelles, united in friendship but rivals in politics; Cardinal Maury; Suard, a distinguished publicist; Jouy, an imitator of Addison; Nodier, an unrivalled critic, though then merely pluming his wings; Madame Cottin, whose want of style is forgotten in the grace and interest of her tales; Madame de Genlis, whose vanity and pedantry induced her to try every style of writing; Daru, a learned historian and elegant translator of Horace; Volney, the traveller and historian, and last of the school of Encyclopædists; Madame de Stael, the only rival of whom Napoleon stood in awe, the author of *Corinna*, the profound *Reflections on the French Revolution*, and the introducer of German literature into France; and, lastly, Chateaubriand, the prose-poet, who with a taste and manner pre-eminently French, strove to rebuild the shattered altar and throne of his country.—Science was rendered illustrious by a brilliant list of names: Carnot, Lavoisier, Lagrange, Laplace, Delambre, Lalande, Chaptal, Biot, Berthollet, Vauquelin, Haüy, Gay-Lussac, Bichat, Sacy, Jussieu, Lamarck, Lapeyère, G. St Hilaire, Malte-Brun, and others of less fame, by their laborious investigations extended the boundaries of scientific discovery. While Gros, Houdon, Chaudet, and Lemot, were gaining fresh laurels in painting and sculpture, Cherubini, Grétry, Mehul, and others, were multiplying the resources of musical harmony.

6. The literature of the present day is of a higher order than any of its past epochs : it has passed through the hour of trial, and emerged purified from many of its baser elements. Infidelity is no longer fashionable : there seems to be an earnest striving after truth ; and the most popular writers condescend to patronize Christianity. French philosophy is generally Christian in its tendencies : although there is occasionally a desire to exalt the form over the faith, the church over the gospel. Among such writers are De Maistre, author of a work *On the Pope* ; Ballanche, the Plato of the catholic school ; and the Abbé Lamennais, whose *Essay on Religious Indifference* met with a sale unprecedented in French literature. Victor Cousin and Jouffroy are the heads of what is called the Eclectic school. A. Comte's *Course of Positive Philosophy*, a work of alleged infidel tendencies, seeks to reform society by means of a reformation of our opinions. In the department of history France is remarkably rich. The writings of Guizot, Michelet, Thiers, and Thierry, are as well known in this country as in their own ; and close upon them follow Mignet, Capefigue, Barante, Sismondi, Villemain, and Carrel. On the list of modern poets we read the names of Beranger, recently deceased ; Lamartine, whose political fame has for a while obscured his more lasting reputation as an author ; Casimir Delavigne, whose *Messéniennes*, addressing the patriotic sentiments of the nation, seemed like a revival of the age of Tyrtæus ; and Victor Hugo, one of the most picturesque of modern poets, and chief of the Romantic school. This spasmodic imitation of nature—a wild exaggeration of Shakspeare's worst moments—is now almost extinct : the excesses of Dumas proved its ruin. The flexible Scribe still amuses with his inexhaustible fertility in every department of the drama. The French novelists are so numerous that only a few of the more prominent names can be selected. George Sand (Madame Dudevant), the greatest master of fiction alive ; Balzac, recently deceased, a close observer and acute analyst of character ; the prodigal, theatrical Dumas ; and Eugene Sue. The journalists and critics form a most important section of French literature. Their political writers are superior to our own, and the columns of the newspaper have been the surest stepping stones to rank and power. Thiers, the two Gir-

ardins, Marrast, Léon Faucher, Duvergier de Hauranne, Michel Chevalier, &c., have few rivals in England. Among their best critics are Gustave Planche, Marc Girardin, Philarète Chasles, so remarkable for his knowledge and appreciation of English literature, Sainte Beuve, and Nisard. Of the *feuilletonistes*, a class peculiar to France, though somewhat resembling our magazine writers, it will be enough to mention the inimitable Jules Janin, Théophile Gautier, Eugène Guinot, and Madame Emile Girardin. Science is worthily represented by Le Verrier, who demonstrated the existence of the planet Neptune, and pointed the tube of the astronomical observer to the very spot in the heavens where it would be seen; Arago, great both as an astronomer and politician; Niepce and Daguerre, who first made the solar rays subsidiary to the pictorial art; Cuvier, the great master of comparative anatomy, who described the organization of the animals of the Pre-Adamite times; Agassiz, who limited his inquiries chiefly to the fossil fish; Brongniart and E. de Beaumont, who are investigating the history of the antediluvian flora; Milne-Edwards and Valenciennes, the able anatomists of the molluscous animals; with others less known abroad, but whose services are not the less valuable. The most illustrious of French painters since the restoration of the Bourbons are Géricault, Delacroix, the two Vernets, Girardet, and Scheffer; scarcely inferior to whom are Gudin, Biard, Decamps, Grandville, Lepoittevin, Girodet, and Colin. Louis Philippe was a munificent patron of the arts, and spared no expense to embellish the city of Paris: the restoration of the Hotel de Ville, the completion of the Madeleine, and the laying out of the Place de la Concorde, are among the most remarkable architectural decorations of his reign. The palace of Versailles he converted into a national gallery, in which painting and sculpture were lavishly employed to illustrate the annals of France. Here too may be seen the *Joan of Arc* of the lamented Princess Mary, a noble work of art, which innumerable casts and copies have made familiar to every one. While the French school of music is worthily represented by Hérold, Halevy, Adam, and Auber; the dignity of the tragic scene is upheld solely by the genius of Rachel.

Such is in brief the intellectual history of France dur-

ing the last three centuries. It is essentially a history of progress, more particularly since the great revolution; and every lover of his fellow-men must be pleased to see that the restless energy which led the French to plant their standards on the walls of Moscow and Madrid, is now directed to the peaceful and more enduring triumphs of the arts and civilisation.

**THE END.**

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